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LEADERSHIP IN WAR AND PEACE

By

SANFORD WINSTON



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OF THE
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Preface

This publication is based upon a survey made possible through a grant by the General Education Board as a result of its recognition of the fact that the neighborhood leadership system has a special contribution to make to our rural and national life.

Many persons have given generously of their time and thought in the prosecution of the study. Appreciation is particularly due to the following persons, all of whom were connected with North Carolina State College: I. O. Schaub, Director, Agricultural Extension Service; Ruth Current, State Home Demonstration Agent; F. S. Sloan, State Program Leader, Program Planning Department; J. P. Leagans, Program Planning Specialist, Program Planning Department; J. W. Crawford, Program Planning Specialist, Program Planning Department; C. Horace Hamilton, Head, Rural Sociology Department; and to Mary Elizabeth Holloway, who headed up the field work. Grateful thanks is hereby expressed to the district agents and to the many farm and home agents who took time to participate in discussions of the program and to cooperate in the field work. The enumerators for the survey not only filled the schedules but also proved to be keen analysts of the program. The leaders themselves, who cooperated so wholeheartedly in the development of the program and were so ready to participate in the survey, should be given especial recognition.

It is hoped that the findings of this study of rural neighborhood organization in North Carolina will stimulate the development of this type of utilization of the leadership resources of rural America.

SANFORD WINSTON,
Head, Department of Sociology.

September, 1946

PART I

Organization and Programs

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This is a study of the present operation and future possibilities of what is believed to be one of the most important movements that has taken place in rural life in recent times, namely, the neighborhood leadership organization among the farm population. The proportion of persons in this country that lives in cities has steadily increased, and the proportion of persons who make their living directly from the soil has steadily decreased. Notwithstanding the increased urbanization and industrialization of the country, farmers today constitute the largest single occupational group. A fundamental basis of security and well-being today, as always in the past, is a sound and adequate rural life and livelihood.

Both the executive and the legislative branches of the government are cognizant of the need of an adequate program for the maintenance and improvement of rural life. Most states—particularly the heavily farm states—have important agricultural budgets, with the leadership in the agricultural field in the hands of a devoted body of men and women who are keenly interested in, and who have a broad knowledge of, rural life.

Farm life is a type of existence that is hard and demanding and yet possesses peculiar satisfactions which make it a mode of living as well as a mode of obtaining a living. Here indeed man does not live by bread alone. The satisfactions of rural life are often beyond the ken of the city dweller who has lived all his life largely insulated against the crudities, and hence the beauties, of nature. Agricultural life is all-absorbing and those who follow its call spend relatively little time in association with large groups of their fellows. Furthermore, American farmers in general are highly individualistic. Along with this, the patterns of social and economic activity in rural areas are relatively fixed. Life is relatively peaceful, slow-moving, and static in comparison with urban conditions.

Paradoxically agricultural leadership is largely non-agricultural. Nor is this as strange as it may seem at first. The full-time occupation of a farmer cannot be combined with time-consuming interests and activities in other fields. The farmer goes his way and except for occasional special efforts is prone to leave the leadership in rural and larger affairs in the hands of others.

One resultant of this is that the true needs of the dirt farmer are not always known. In many cases, these needs differ from state to state, from community to community. In one sense, no one can ever

understand the problems of a group of farmers as well as the farmers themselves. As it is, farmers are today often inarticulate in important matters.

Another resultant is that until recently there has been no satisfactory way of reaching all farmers in the interest of special programs. Those better educated or nearest the hard-surfaced highways are most easily reached. As levels of living decline, the problems of reaching farmers increase in difficulty and render adequate contact well-nigh impossible without a considerable expenditure of time, effort, and money. As a consequence, the best situated farmers and rural dwellers have been rather completely reached by governmental programs, but the others, needing help more, have necessarily been less affected by them. The nature of the agricultural situation is such that the poorer and submarginal farmers reduce the well-being of the whole group. What hurts the poorer farmers tends to hurt all. Were an adequate socialized leadership present and functioning throughout the local community, these farm families could be reached to the benefit of all.

This does not imply that there is lack of leadership in rural life. A recently completed study of a sample area in rural North Carolina shows no dearth of rural leadership as such.¹ In the four rural counties studied, however, the leadership is largely a town leadership. By occupation most of the men are professional or semi-professional. Less than one-fifth of them are farmers.² Knowledge of rural life in many parts of the country leads to the belief that this is typical and, under the circumstances, quite normal.

What then of the rank and file of farm families? A fair statement of their position in regard to current social and economic changes would amount to this. The farmer is sometimes adequately represented; he often has his leaders either in direct touch with the soil or not far removed from it. In spite of this, he has not been adequately reached by existing agencies. Furthermore, those leaders and those agencies that are most anxious to aid him, while doing a good job, are handicapped by the enormity of reaching adequately below the top and middle strata of farm families.

The question then logically poses itself. Does there exist among the millions of farmers a potentiality of leadership which might be made available to all farmers at the local level? If so there is a resource of tremendous worth to the entire nation on the one hand

¹ Unpublished study.

² It must be pointed out that the bulk of these non-farmers came from an agricultural background. Moreover, a large proportion of them owned farms, and their interests were bound up with those whose primary occupation was farming.

and to the smallest neighborhood on the other. If such a resource can be developed, it will be possible to reach the last man on the last row, and ultimately to develop from thousands of small areas an important aid to that more abundant life for rural dwellers which is theoretically possible but which has been realized by such a relatively small proportion of them.

CHAPTER 2

Neighborhoods and Their Leaders

THE NEIGHBORHOOD BASIS OF RURAL LIFE

In a large part of the United States, an important basis for analyzing rural life and thought lies in the neighborhood. The spreading acres of the farmer have a spatial significance. Non-farmers who have rural occupations also have a sense of geographic location in their work.

Along with this, there is usually a grouping of rural families who are in more or less casual contact with one another on a primary, face-to-face basis at relatively frequent intervals. Their children go to the same schools. The families attend one or more churches within a specified radius. There are one or more general stores where innumerable purchases are made. In normal times, a filling station or two is a testimonial to the demands of the automobiles and trucks which perform tasks of carrying people, materials, and the fruits of the soil from and to the farm homes. Some areas are almost entirely farm areas. There is a feeling of neighborliness and a common interest in many activities. There are varied types of mutual aid as families stand ready to lend assistance or to exchange services. In these neighborhoods there are practically always one or more focal points where people meet. Here they may pass the time of day, gossip, argue, in short, be generally communal. In some public building or private edifice, meetings of importance to the neighborhood take place. In a very real sense, the neighborhood—often unnoted—plays an important part in the limited social life of the average rural dweller.

Everyone who has lived in such a rural area can recollect some name given to that area. It is a neighborhood name, obtaining its derivation from some natural phenomenon in the area, or from some

early family, or from some Indian tribe, or from other homely sources.

Where the contacts of the people are fairly common, sufficiently intimate, and have a central core of interests and a rather definite idea of spatial entity, these local groupings are known as neighborhoods.¹ Such neighborhoods are of course not as intimate groupings as are the families that compose them, but there is a sense of "belonging" that is present in all neighborhoods, provided only that they have become established and are not in the process of disintegrating. Strange as it may appear to the non-rural dweller, neighborhoods are capable of quite definite delineation, a factor of great importance in the study of rural leadership.

A still larger entity in rural social organization is the community. Generally speaking, several neighborhoods tend to constitute one community. Practically always that community is recognized by a definite name, by a definite spatial content, and by the inclusion of the families in the area within which the community lies. "A rural community is that form of association maintained between the people, and between their institutions, in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village which is the center of their common activities."²

The contacts among families are less frequent on a community than on a neighborhood basis, unless of course the families live in the same neighborhood. The number of institutions is greater; the number of meeting places increased. Such a grouping is more self-sufficing than the neighborhood area, meeting most or all of the common needs of the population. Furthermore, it is usually sufficiently larger so that it has more diversified agricultural as well as non-agricultural interests than the more intimate unit of the neighborhood. Lacking that intimacy, that higher degree of socialization, however, makes it less important than the neighborhood as a sphere for the influencing of the behavior of its component families. It is of concern here primarily because it is a coordinator of neighbor-

¹ This may be compared with the definition of a neighborhood in *Rural Community Organization* by Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939) which emphasizes "the restricted geographical area and the closeness of association among its families" (p. 53).

According to Kolb and Brunner, "a neighborhood is that first group outside the family which has social significance, and which has some sense of local unity. It is conditioned both geographically and psychologically. It is an area of local association and it is a group of primary, personal, or face-to-face contacts." See *A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, p. 44.

² Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 50. See also Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, ch. 6, "The Rural Community."

hoods as well as an important link in connecting the neighborhoods with the larger socio-political spheres of the county and state.

In a real sense, the neighborhood is the smallest social link in rural organization. (We are here disregarding the family which is a still smaller group but which lacks the social extensiveness of the neighborhood.) It is also remarkably persistent in spite of the widening of rural horizons through modern types of communication and transportation.³ While social changes may cause the disintegration of some neighborhoods, they also operate to strengthen others or to create new groupings of this type. In spite of rapid change the neighborhood remains an important element in the social structure of the South with its dominant rural population.⁴

Because of the nature of its relationships, the neighborhood is an important element in the entire complex of rural society.⁵ The most grandiose proposals emanating from the nation's capital may fail in the individual neighborhoods which they at last reach. On the other hand, acceptance and support in the individual neighborhoods give a firm groundwork for national programs. The neighborhood is a primary medium for the dissemination of ideas and programs. This can only take place on the sound basis of understanding and cooperation, which involves a thorough knowledge of the people in the individual neighborhoods. Each neighborhood has, to some extent, its own practices, its own folkways. Conditions vary from one neighborhood group to another. Neighborhood opinion is solidified on some subjects, is open to modification on others. New ideas find more ready acceptance when they are introduced with a proper consideration of the peculiar neighborhood situations that exist than when they are handed down from above without modification for special areas.

The problem goes deeper than this, however. How important the family is in affecting its members and ultimately the whole of society is well known. In the sense of its being a small, rather intimate social unit, the neighborhood plays a paramount part also in the molding of its members. Hence the significance of the social and economic levels of neighborhoods can hardly be overstressed. In rural areas, the neighborhood in a very real sense is the place where new techniques may meet a peaceful but definite defeat or where innova-

³ See Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 48ff.

⁴ See, for example, the evaluation of the rural neighborhood in the South by T. Lynn Smith in *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940, pp. 320-322.

⁵ Also see Dodson, Linden S.; Ensminger, Douglas; and Woodworth, Robert N., *Rural Community Organization in Washington and Frederick Counties, Maryland*, Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 437, October, 1940, p. 159ff.

tions may become successfully embodied in the social fabric. The point concerning the rural neighborhood is sharpened when it is noted that, due to the long acquaintances existing, plus the repetition of contacts, changes are likely to spread once there is found a basis for general acceptance.

This basis for acceptance lies in the proper preparation of the neighborhood for the new plans. The preparation in turn is in part a long-time matter to the extent that it is dependent upon situations having existed in a neighborhood for many years. The preparation is also in part a current affair to the extent that men and women may be contacted in such ways as to smooth the path of acceptance of the proposals newly brought to the area.

Here again a thorough understanding of neighborhoods and communities is necessary. The needs of the social area must be taken into consideration, if new developments are to be fundamental rather than superficial and to be presented in terms of the existing cultural level.

The tie-up between leadership and rural neighborhood thus is brought into focus. In a democratic society, the rural neighborhood forms a basic resource. The status of any particular rural region is largely dependent upon the plane of agricultural and social practices in the neighborhoods which play their unspectacular but all-important parts in that region. The neighborhood is an important laboratory for the study of the functioning of leadership. This functioning is an actual rather than a theoretical one. The acknowledged importance of the neighborhood can be augmented by an adequately functioning group of men and women who may act as leaders within the neighborhoods and local communities of rural America.

THE DELINEATION OF NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES

The neighborhood is an ideal unit for the study of many types of social phenomena. The small size of the unit, both geographically and demographically, gives clarity to the picture. The comparative simplicity of the structure is a decided asset in social analysis. This is particularly true so far as leadership is concerned. Not only do rural areas exist in terms of neighborhoods, but the neighborhood which does not possess one or more leaders, however much their abilities may vary, is non-existent. Where functioning in specific neighborhood units, the mechanism of leadership can be laid bare and studied in terms of its actual operation. Its strengths, its weaknesses, its place in the social *milieu*, may be analyzed. On this basis plans may be developed to utilize the various agencies and techniques which

will further the work of leaders in accomplishing socially desirable tasks in rural areas.

One point should be made in regard to leaders in general. The average man or woman thinks of leaders in terms of "great" men or women. He thinks in that manner because the school teacher of his early days has been followed by the newspapers, books, other agencies, and people in general all of whom speak in terms of great men or at least in terms of the better known men and women in the country and state. Leadership, however, is not confined to leaders on a national or regional basis. Every town, every village, every rural neighborhood has its leaders, men and women who have developed the ability to affect the behavior of their fellow citizens in more or less definite ways.

Fortunately for the purpose of the study of rural leadership, there has developed a movement which has as its crux the determination, analysis, and utilization of both the neighborhood organization and the social leadership which are operating in these neighborhoods. Since this study is concerned primarily with the operation of neighborhood leadership in a single state, the experiences of that state in this regard may be noted.

In North Carolina as in all other rural states, there have been numerous efforts to deal with the manifold problems facing agricultural areas. The political divisions of the state are the counties and the townships. Townships are small enough for purposes of intensive work, but township lines are largely artificial. In actuality, people in one part of a township often do not know people in another part of the same township. People in adjoining townships, if in the same neighborhood, are more closely bound by ties of life-long friendship than are people in distant parts of the same township. In the process of agricultural planning, it has been found, furthermore, that there are localities in a large proportion of townships where some of the people to be reached are unacquainted with members of the township committee. Thus sociological theory and social actuality are joined in arriving at the need for a more natural basis for localized planning and action. The neighborhood is obviously the unit to work with and through. The problem that it sets up is the mapping of neighborhoods and the seeking of the leadership that exists in these neighborhoods.

In proceeding toward this objective, it has been found feasible to proceed on the basis of the individual county. A general method of procedure has been developed along the following lines. In each

county a meeting of the county agricultural workers council⁶ was held, at which the purposes and the methods of delimiting neighborhoods were analyzed in detail under the leadership of a member of the Extension Service planning staff of the North Carolina State College. The council members then chose three or four members to act as leaders in the work of mapping the neighborhoods in that particular county. Since counties are divisible socially into communities as well as neighborhoods, the communities⁷ and their centers were utilized as a preliminary basis of procedure. Each community and its center were considered separately and after careful consideration a group of farm men and women representing all localities around each center was selected by the mapping leader and other council members best acquainted with that community. These people were invited by the county agents to a meeting at their particular community center for the purpose of delineating neighborhood and community lines. Special effort was made to insure as complete a turnout as possible of farm men and women from each locality.

At each meeting skeleton base maps were used. Upon these maps were located landmarks, such as churches, schools, stores and other familiar places. For purposes of orientation, the residences of all persons present at the meeting were also located. The group then turned to one particular neighborhood and started mapping from the neighborhood center, a place almost always agreed upon unanimously by the persons representing that neighborhood. A road leading from that center was selected. Those familiar with the area were asked to locate on the road the last person who considered himself or herself a part of *this* neighborhood rather than the next one down the road. Upon the point representing the end of his or her farm a line was drawn across the road. In an important proportion of cases, a natural boundary, such as a stream or ravine, was noted and so marked as the boundary between one neighborhood and another. The various lines, when connected, formed the boundaries of the neighborhoods in the opinion of the neighborhood men and women and other persons with a knowledge of the area. In like manner,

⁶ The county agricultural workers council is an organization of the professional agricultural workers in the county plus representatives of other agencies and organizations interested in and working with rural people.

⁷ Communities are simple combinations of several neighborhoods which have common interests extending beyond the confines of their particular neighborhoods. These groupings practically always satisfy the analysis of the community briefly presented in the preceding section. Communities made up of only two neighborhoods are fairly numerous and occasionally a neighborhood is found that is sufficiently large and populous and has sufficient diversity of interests to be denominated both a neighborhood and a community. An average community in this area consists of about five neighborhoods.

neighborhood boundaries were drawn for the remaining areas. In cases where the meetings were insufficiently attended, agents and other members of the agricultural council visited neighborhoods to complete their information. At that time, various interested members of the council, together with the county agents met and from their own knowledge plus the information supplied them grouped the neighborhoods into the communities of which they were a part. At the same time, the names of the neighborhoods and communities, ordinarily quite well known, were posted on the maps. Over a period of some two years, the entire state of North Carolina with its 100 counties was divided into 6,013 rural neighborhoods and 1,272 communities on the basis of the white population.⁸ No attempt was made to delineate urban neighborhoods and communities, and the boundaries of the rural communities nearest urban areas were assumed as ending where the urban political divisions began. The soundness of this assumption was borne out by the facts in the neighborhood delineations.

The work of mapping neighborhood and community divisions was a huge task. In the nature of the case the boundaries are not perfect; the work of rechecking remains to be completed. For the purposes of studying leadership in the neighborhood setting, however, there exists now a sufficiently adequate basis of delineated and mapped neighborhood groupings. Here we have those rural groupings in which the people know one another well and their apparent agricultural and socio-economic problems. They recognize their common interests, even to the general acceptance and agreement on a neighborhood name, by which they are located as residents not only to themselves but to others who have any semblance of regular contacts with the neighborhood.

In so mapping the neighborhood areas, an important preliminary step towards the study of these areas was taken. More important was the laying of the basis for adequate utilization of these neighborhoods in any developments which might aid the population of the neighborhoods in any movement which might contribute to the larger social good.

A pragmatic next step then remained—to seek out in each neighborhood those men and women who have demonstrated their leadership qualities in a way to satisfy their neighbors as to their fitness to undertake other important tasks of neighborhood or community interest. These leaders are known in their local areas both as per-

⁸ Later 1,265 Negro neighborhoods were delineated.

sonages and as leaders, even though the acceptance of their leadership may often be an unconscious process.

THE SEEKING OF NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS

The delineation of neighborhoods was used as a preliminary step to the seeking of leaders. At the time of mapping the neighborhoods, those present from a specific neighborhood were asked to give the names of leaders, both men and women, in their neighborhood. There was general agreement as to outstanding leaders. At a later date meetings were held at a convenient place under the guidance of one of the representatives of the planning group. To these meetings were invited the men and women of the neighborhood. At that time, the problem of selecting the leaders was discussed. Where the meetings were well planned and well organized, interest was aroused so that attendance was good and elections of leaders were carried out on the most democratic of bases. In some cases, it was explained that leaders from both sexes were desired, since many of the programs to be developed would affect both sexes. The men and women attending these meetings were earnest and desirous of choosing their most effective leaders. It was carefully explained to them that leaders were needed for the purpose of aiding in the development and carrying out of projects and plans for the good of the neighborhood as a whole. As might be expected the type and capacity of the leadership elected differed from locality to locality. There is no doubt, however, that the men and women elected were on the whole recognized leaders in their own neighborhoods. The number elected depended in part upon the number of families in a neighborhood. While in theory one leader was elected for each 10 or 12 families in each locality, sometimes the proportion of leaders was larger and more often the proportion of leaders was less than one in 10. Thus it was not a case of obtaining one neighborhood leader. The democratic as well as the pragmatic seeking of sufficient leadership led to at least several leaders in each locality with a substantial proportion of women included in the various groups.

Another method of securing leaders was by selection of leaders as a result of consultations between the county agents and the people in any particular neighborhood. The role of the agents here depended upon their personalities and philosophies regarding the choice of leaders by the group. The suggestions by the county agents generally hinged upon the type of leaders wanted, so that the selections would tend to be the more capable leaders rather than "good fellows," that is, a type of popularity leadership that is legitimate leadership but not as desirable in terms of getting things accomplished as the action

type of leadership. In some cases, the professional workers were careful to have no voice in the actual selection of leaders. In other cases, the professional workers were definitely consulted as to their opinions regarding the merits of various candidates.

In a small proportion of cases a third method of selection was utilized, in which the agents directly appointed men and women as leaders. The objections to this less democratic process are partially counteracted by the care taken to appoint not only capable persons but also true leaders of a neighborhood, since otherwise the whole purpose of leadership recognition and stimulation followed by action would be defeated.

Reports from the 100 counties have showed a preponderance of leaders chosen by the selection method. In 1943, 28,910 leaders were reported. Of these, 52 per cent were selected by the county agents and the people in the neighborhood, 45 per cent were elected by the neighborhood group, with the remainder appointed by the county agents. The lines of demarcation among the three methods of obtaining leaders are not always clear. Careful investigation, however, does lead to the conclusion that the percentages cited are approximately correct, with the majority of the leaders selected through consultation, with the method of election heavily followed, and with the appointment technique relatively little used. In approximately one-third of the counties at least two of the methods were resorted to.

It would be easy to criticize the results of what amounted to a tremendous task. Later analysis will show that not all of the apparent leaders have functioned as such. Some have been or need to be replaced by leaders who are more capable and who have the interest as well as the time necessary to devote to the important task of functioning actively in any plans or movements designed in any way to aid the life and living of their neighborhoods and communities. Yet the end results will be shown to have been generally satisfactory.

Because this is a study of leadership functioning in a segment of society rather than in a scholastic laboratory, however, a critique of the three methods may be suggested at this point. Faced with the apparent necessity of obtaining leadership as rapidly as possible, there was danger of too much intervention on the part of the professional workers, who were chiefly the farm and home demonstration agents of the counties involved. Yet it was necessary and desirable that the existing organization of the extension service be used. That utilization has more than justified itself. No one knows more concerning the rural people and their interests than these members of the state extension service whose roots are in the coun-

ties which they serve. Because the agents knew the men and women and were anxious that the best leadership be obtained, the danger was constant that the democratic philosophy of elections might be superseded by the apparently more practical one of getting things accomplished with expedition and efficiency. Under the circumstances, the number of outright appointments was satisfactorily low and in many instances it was partially accounted for by the exigencies of the particular situation. Where agents were apparently unable to grasp the importance of the rural leadership development or were insufficiently flexible to adjust to a new factor in an already overcrowded schedule, the underlying causes were more serious. Many of the appointments, on the other hand, were not as arbitrary as they may seem to be. They were ordinarily made by the professional worker only after consultation with other workers and with interested farmers who would advise on the suitability of the particular person under consideration. There have been situations under which appointments of leaders have been made on a temporary basis under the stress of emergency war programs. One cannot be too dogmatic about these matters, except to point out that the concept of leadership is tied up with our philosophy concerning the democratic process. It is quite conceivable that this may be open to question under certain situations.

An untrained group does not always select offhand its best leaders. A trained man or woman who knows the group well and has its interests at heart may be wiser in selection than the group who may be electing leaders but not the most adequate leaders from the standpoint of the greatest advantage to the group. On the other hand, rural people, knowing one another over a period of years, can usually be counted upon to do an adequate job in this respect.

From a purely democratic standpoint, the election of men and women by their fellows in open meeting is the most desirable. The dangers here have been already pointed out. After careful consideration of the actualities as they exist in the field, one may conclude that satisfaction with the method used must in the last analysis rest upon the attitudes and capabilities of the leaders obtained.

Since the focus is upon leadership as it functions in a specific type and division of society, the three methods provide a large group of men and women leaders as the basis for studying leadership as it functions in the process of everyday living. Here we have leadership actually operating, in contrast to the laboratory experiment or classroom analysis, both of which are important but which are devoid of certain social aspects of leadership to be discussed in succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER 3

The Setting

Leadership does not operate in a vacuum. It implies a series of relationships between leaders and "followers." Further, leaders operate within a social and cultural setting. This background forms a pattern within which they function and has much to do with the type of leadership. It has a definite part to play in the shaping of leadership, in the successes and failures of the leadership process. For these reasons, something of the background of the functioning leadership which is to be analyzed may be presented. This is a study of leadership as it exists and functions in rural regions. The lesser complexity of rural than urban life makes the study of rural leadership more feasible than a comparable study of urban leadership.

THE STATE

North Carolina is well adapted for a study of rural leadership. It has a relatively stable population. The stability of its neighborhood life is a desirable attribute in the study of leadership as it operates in these neighborhoods. Of North Carolina's population of over three and a half million, almost 73 per cent lived in rural areas in 1940. Of the two and a half million rural people, over 1,600,000 were farm folk, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the state.

The rural areas range from the sandy flats touching the ocean on the east through beautifully rolling country to the Appalachian Highlands in the west. The climate varies from sub-tropical in summer along the southeastern coastal areas to the cool mountain areas.¹

North Carolina is a state of small farms. The agriculture is varied with tobacco and cotton the chief cash crops. Other important sources of agricultural income are livestock and livestock products, fruit and vegetables. Agricultural products are becoming increasingly diversified.

The state is rapidly becoming industrialized, particularly in the piedmont region. Urbanization is proceeding steadily, the percentage of the population which is urban rising from 19 in 1920 to 26 in 1930 and to 27 in 1940. Yet the state is predominantly rural, not only numerically but also in terms of its patterns of living. Only one city, Charlotte, has a population of over 100,000.

There is a large Negro population, concentrated chiefly in the eastern half of the state. It is particularly heavy in rural areas. The

¹ The mean temperature of Western North Carolina is 54.0 degrees. Source: Weather Bureau, Raleigh, N. C.

white population is almost entirely native-born. It is highly individualistic and rather conservative in its patterns of thought and living. As in rural areas throughout the country, life is relatively peaceful, alternating between periods of intense activity and long hours and seasons when the less efficient farmers have a great deal of free time. The peacefulness of the life has been punctured somewhat by the war, but the conflict has had remarkably little effect on the patterns of living in agricultural areas, although the problems of labor, cost of necessary materials, and the upward and downward swings of prices have their direct effects.

There is a large percentage of farm tenancy with 44 per cent of all farm operators falling into this classification. It is more prevalent among Negroes than whites. This is not a tenant group on the way up the agricultural ladder, although the state and the national governments are concerning themselves more and more with the tenant class. Along with tenancy generally go low standards and planes of living, a high rate of farm mobility, and from the standpoint of leaders relatively poor groups to work with.

Counterbalancing his high degree of individualism and his devotion to traditional techniques and attitudes, the rural North Carolinian is neighborly. Small farms make for a higher degree of sociability than exists in areas of larger farms. The lack of foreign-born and the relatively small proportion of residents coming from other states make for relatively homogeneous groupings, in spite of the presence of large bi-racial groups in the eastern and many of the central counties. This relative homogeneity and this sociability make the problem of neighborhoods a more satisfactory one to study than it would be if there were greater diversity in the population and more emphasis upon social distance.

EXTENSION SERVICE

So much for the general background. A still closer framework is provided by the Extension Service of the state, which institutionally and otherwise plays an important part in the picture of a functioning rural leadership. The Extension Service reaches into all of the 100 counties through its system of county farm and home agents together with their assistants. Every county has its farm agent and home demonstration agent while 83 counties have assistant farm agents² and 65 counties have assistant home agents. Also, 43 counties have Negro farm agents, with two counties having Negro assistant

² In September, 1946, there were 127 assistant farm agents. Thirty-six counties had two or more assistant farm agents. Nine counties have two assistant home agents.

farm agents. Forty-two counties have Negro home agents, with two of these having assistant home agents. The counties with Negro agents are normally those which have relatively large numbers of colored farm families.

Under the Extension Service the state is divided into five divisions for the white workers, for administrative purposes, and three divisions for the Negro workers. These two set-ups are superimposed upon each other under the Director of Agricultural Extension. The work is coordinated by the staff at the headquarters at the State College in Raleigh, with separate heads for the farm and home agents, and a central planning office that works through the Extension Service. An efficient group of men and women are specialists in the numerous agricultural pursuits and farm family affairs. These men and women are equipped to render service to the great group of farm men and women throughout the state.

The farm and home agents, together with their assistants, are inseparably connected with the rural life of their counties. By and large they are a conscientious and hard-working group of men and women whose activities have been and are of immense value to their individual counties. After a preliminary period of getting acquainted in a new county, the average agent rapidly becomes integrated into the rural life of the county and into the activities in the smaller towns that are largely service centers for the surrounding countryside. It is necessary to visualize this in order to understand the place of the Extension Service in the functioning of the neighborhood leaders.

With the delineation of neighborhoods completed and the neighborhood leaders chosen, the Extension Service through its agents has largely maintained the necessary contacts between the leaders and the various agents and specialists. The organization has functioned sufficiently well by expanding its activities, so that a second organization devoted to the "organization" of the leaders would be superfluous.

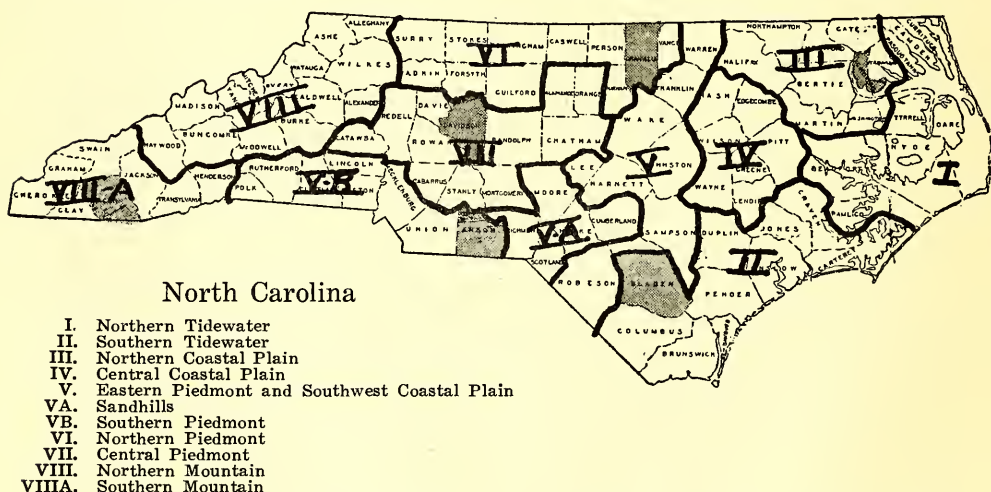
As a matter of fact, the word "organization" is out of place in discussions of the neighborhood leaders. These men and women are not part of a neighborhood organization as such. Purposely, there exists simply the neighborhoods with their several leaders, although in an important proportion of the counties several neighborhoods are grouped into a loose community set-up with a community chairman elected from the ranks of the neighborhood leaders. The county agents act as friends, advisors, channels of information, and liaison agents between the leaders and the state and Federal officials.

As has been emphasized before, leadership does not operate in a vacuum. It operates within a series of situations which help to explain its operation. Hence, the next consideration is the counties included in the survey.

THE COUNTIES STUDIED

In the interests of economy of time and expense it was considered advisable to contact all the leaders in selected counties rather than to sample neighborhoods in a large number of counties. The state of North Carolina can be divided into three basic geographic divisions, the coastal plain in the east, the piedmont in the central portion of the state, and the mountain area in the west. These in turn are capable of further division, the east into the tide-water and the coastal plain. The great central area reaches into the coastal plain on the east and into the foothills of the mountain ranges on the west. This central area, known as the piedmont, has three distinct sections: the northern piedmont, near the Virginia line, is the old tobacco section; the southern piedmont, bordering South Carolina, is the old intensive cotton area; while the central piedmont is rapidly becoming the major area of industrial development (Fig. 1). The western portion of the state is largely mountainous with a high proportion of the farms classified as subsistence farms but with increasing attention being paid to animal husbandry.

Fig. 1. Type of Farming Area Map of North Carolina and Counties Surveyed



In sampling the state, factors concerning the types of agricultural activity in each county were considered. Population factors, such as

the degree of urbanization and the size of the Negro population, were also taken into account. Along with these items, the development of the neighborhood leadership program in the various counties was investigated.³ In counties with a heavy Negro population the presence of at least one Negro agent was considered a prerequisite for inclusion of a county in the study. Counties in which an agent was not vitally interested in new developments were eliminated. On the other hand, those counties most completely organized under the neighborhood leadership system were not considered unless they met all the other criteria for selection. Because of the cost of the field work, coupled with the importance of sampling what were considered to be the six social and agricultural divisions of the state, counties having too large a rural population had to be discarded, since fortunately smaller counties in the same areas could meet the requirements for inclusion.

When all the factors were taken into consideration, six counties were chosen for study. These represent the six areas of the state pointed out above. All except the mountain and the central piedmont counties represent in their confines at least two rural sub-areas. In the northeast, *Chowan* was selected to represent the Northern Tidewater and the Northern Coastal Plain. *Bladen*, a large county in the southeast, is located in the Southern Tidewater area and the Southwest Coastal Plain. *Granville* County is in the Northern Piedmont, the old tobacco area. *Davidson* County lies in the heart of the Central Piedmont, a rolling area of diversified farming, with an important amount of industrialization. *Anson*, in the south central part of the state, is in the cotton belt and both represents the Piedmont and reaches into the Sandhills area towards the east. The mountain area is represented by *Macon* county, in the heart of the Smokies, with subsistence agriculture the dominant type of farming.

In planning the study, other factors were taken into consideration. A county such as *Chowan* is small and compact. One such as *Bladen* is large and sprawling. A county such as *Davidson* has a relatively dense rural population and a great deal of part-time farming. The problem of transportation is more easily solved in some counties and

³ The memorandum citing criteria for county selection included the following items:

1. Should be a county in which no change is expected in the position of farm agent or home agent in the next six months.
2. Should be a county in which both agents are "sold" on the general idea of neighborhood leadership and planning.
3. Should be a county where the neighborhood leadership plan is reasonably successful.
4. In the two eastern districts, Negro home and county agents as well as Negro neighborhood leaders should be present.

is more of a problem in the counties of which Macon is representative. It was desired to obtain a percentage of Negro leaders in the sample selected comparable with the 27.5 per cent of Negroes in the state. In the counties surveyed 26 per cent of the leaders reported were Negroes.⁴

Thus, the nature of the study required that not only objective criteria with respect to geographic location, type of farming, population characteristics, and extension services be utilized in selection of the counties but also that the functioning of the neighborhood leadership program definitely be taken into consideration. The selection of counties, therefore, was checked with state and district extension service personnel. As a result of the methods it is believed that the counties, taken as a whole, form an adequate basis for a representative analysis of the operation of neighborhood leadership in North Carolina.

⁴ Negroes also constituted 26 per cent of the leaders actually studied.

CHAPTER 4

The Leadership Group

From the records as to the number of leaders reported, the names of 1,272 men and women leaders in the six survey counties were obtained (Table 1). The field investigators, all of whom were trained

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS REPORTED AND INCLUDED
IN SURVEY, BY COUNTIES

| Item | All counties | County | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------|--------|--------|----------|-----------|-------|
| | | Anson | Bladen | Chowan | Davidson | Granville | Macon |
| Total leaders reported in annual reports, 1943 | 1,301 | 311 | 221 | 157 | 200 | 137 | 275 |
| Total leaders reported at time of survey | 1,272 | 245 | 189 | 142 | 198 | 232 | 266 |
| Leader not contacted ^(a) | 80 | 11 | 11 | — | 14 | 21 | 23 |
| Leaders contacted | 1,192 | 234 | 178 | 142 | 184 | 211 | 243 |
| Usable schedules | 966 | 220 | 90 | 133 | 104 | 203 | 216 |
| Incomplete schedules ^(b) | 226 | 14 | 88 | 9 | 80 | 8 | 27 |

^(a) Of these 80 leaders, 4 could not be located; 14 were appointed while the survey was in process in the county; 28 were visited twice and were at home neither time; 3 were ill; and 31 had moved away.

^(b) Of the 226 schedules which were incomplete, 14 were because the leaders had no lists and had presented no programs; 171 were because the leaders did not know enough about the system to give the necessary information; 15 were because the leaders did not know of their appointments; and 26 were because the individuals had not been selected as leaders.

in field work and in interviewing persons with a rural background, visited the homes of these men and women, without exception. Eighty of the reported leaders, or slightly over six per cent of the total, were eliminated from the study for definite reasons. They came under the following classifications. Some had moved from the county being surveyed; some were visited twice and were absent from home each time. Others were selected while the surveys were being made and hence had not functioned in the specific tasks being studied. Some had moved from the neighborhood. A few were so seriously ill that it was inadvisable to attempt to talk with them.

This left 1,192 of the men and women who were considered to come definitely within the scope of the study. Of these 966, or 81 per cent of the entire group, were considered to have functioned as neighborhood leaders. The remaining 226 either had not functioned as leaders or had functioned so incompletely and unsatisfactorily that they were dropped from consideration. The reasons for the fail-

ure of some of the neighborhood leaders were rather evident and will be considered in a later chapter on the personal and organizational factors which need to be strengthened in the development of a program of rural leadership.¹

The remaining 966 men and women were considered functioning leaders. Through excellent cooperation on their part, a fund of quantitative and qualitative information with regard to the neighborhood leadership system in operation was obtained. The net result was the unfolding of a picture of the leadership of rural men and women among their friends and neighbors.

SEX

The generalized term, leadership, has different aspects in different situations. Leadership in the business and professional world, for example, is in a different framework from leadership in comparatively small rural areas. This is evidenced immediately in considering men and women leaders. Comparatively few business or professional leaders are women, although the proportion is increasing. The neighborhood scene is another matter. Much of what goes on in particular neighborhoods concerns all the families. That itself is characteristic of neighborhoods. In rural family affairs, women achieve, within the home at least, equal status with men. Consequently, a system of neighborhood leadership, whether developed formally or informally, should be expected to contain a large proportion of women.

This is found to be true in the leadership group under analysis.

TABLE 2. AGE OF NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS, BY RACE AND SEX, 1943

| Age in years | White | | | | Negro | | | |
|--------------|--------|----------|--------|----------|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| | Male | | Female | | Male | | Female | |
| | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| All ages | 356 | 100.0 | 356 | 100.0 | 158 | 100.0 | 96 | 100.0 |
| Under 25 | 2 | .6 | 10 | 2.8 | — | — | 3 | 3.1 |
| 25-34 | 31 | 8.8 | 65 | 18.3 | 10 | 6.4 | 21 | 21.9 |
| 35-44 | 76 | 21.3 | 110 | 30.9 | 33 | 20.9 | 19 | 19.8 |
| 45-54 | 113 | 31.7 | 103 | 28.9 | 54 | 34.1 | 38 | 39.6 |
| 55-64 | 88 | 24.7 | 54 | 15.2 | 43 | 27.1 | 12 | 12.5 |
| 65 and over | 46 | 12.9 | 14 | 3.9 | 18 | 11.5 | 3 | 3.1 |
| Median age | 52 | | 44 | | 52 | | 46 | |

Forty-seven per cent of the leaders are women (Table 2). Considering white leaders alone, the number of women leaders in the counties

¹ See chapter 16 for this analysis.

surveyed is exactly the same as that of the men.²

The fundamental reason for the utilization of women leaders—their importance in the family and neighborhood—has been pointed out. In the acid test of their functioning, the success of women as leaders becomes evident. In family and farm life women can ordinarily provide certain types of leadership in presenting and promoting programs. For purposes of analysis, white male and female leadership may be compared.³

The women have been doing their share in presenting the emergency and other war and farm programs. There are revealing variations according to the type of activity. In programs affecting family living, even remotely, women leaders play a more important part than men. In programs more directly connected with farming, such as the soy bean and peanut program or that dealing with machinery repair, men play a more important part than women leaders. In the spheres generally thought of as "men's work," the men normally have a major role. Often two leaders, one man and one woman, cooperate on neighborhood ventures. Furthermore, almost one-fourth (23 per cent) of the women leaders have husbands who are also leaders. In these cases, the process of complementary leadership is carried still further. It was quite evident in the individual conferences with leaders that this double and complementary role of the sexes has worked quite well. Leadership in local affairs is limited to men only in those instances in which women are unable or unwilling to participate in a more important role than that of onlooker or follower.

Institutionalization plays a considerable part so far as women leaders are concerned. Over one-half (55 per cent) of the white women leaders are members of Home Demonstration clubs. In part this testifies to their select status in rural affairs. From the standpoint of a functioning leadership, the club meetings serve as a place for, and a channel of, interrelationships which are a decided help to the women leaders in contacting their neighbors, who are members of the same clubs. Here is a case in which a strong organization may make its contribution felt still further in a rapidly developing aspect of rural life. It is a challenge to the existing organization which is being met at the present time by the expansion of the activities of the Home Demonstration clubs.

² In one county a number of men were selected as leaders in heading up various types of rural ventures. They were not assigned definite groups of families. While important these men do not come under the rubric of neighborhood leaders and hence were not included in this analysis.

³ Among Negroes, women are comparatively less important as leaders than men. For this race difference, see the discussion on page 31.

While men have no organization quite comparable in its institutional role to the clubs, they are much better situated with regard to meeting other men because of their greater mobility. Also, there still remains, in greater or lesser degree, the belief that men are the organizers of new developments. That feeling differs in various areas but is rapidly changing. The expanding work of the women leaders testifies to this.

The system of utilizing both sexes as neighborhood leaders may be termed a decided success. In many of the drives thus far, the personality of a particular leader has counted more for success than his or her sex. In other campaigns, men have made a more adequate approach than women. The opposite has been found in programs that have touched home life. In economic and purely agricultural matters, men apparently are more adequate in taking the lead. The women are more successful in home matters. The differentiation goes further than this, however. Men generally are more effective than women in handling men; women, on the other hand, excel men in providing the leadership for women.

Rural life is much more of an integrated family affair than is urban life. Correspondingly, the bi-sexual form of leadership works quite well in dealing with families where there is a man-wife division of labor in dealing with the programs.

NEGRO LEADERS

Of North Carolina's population of over three and a half million, 27.5 per cent are Negroes. The proportion of Negroes in the rural population is 26.3 per cent. The leadership study was designed so as to obtain approximately the same proportion of Negro leaders. By a fortunate coincidence, the percentage of Negro leaders obtained in the sample selected was exactly the same figure, 26.3 per cent. Rural Negroes have their heaviest distribution in the cotton and tobacco counties in the eastern half of the state. In a number of these counties somewhat over half of the rural population is colored. Moreover, the proportion of Negro leaders rises with the increase in the density of the Negro population (Table 3).

TABLE 3. RACE OF NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS, BY COUNTIES, 1943

| Race | All counties | Anson | Bladen | Chowan | Davidson | Granville | Macon |
|----------|-----------------|-------|--------|--------|----------|-----------|-------|
| Total: | | | | | | | |
| Number | 1,301 | 311 | 221 | 157 | 200 | 137 | 275 |
| Per cent | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| White | 73.7 | 53.6 | 83.3 | 75.9 | 98.1 | 52.2 | 97.2 |
| Negro | 26.3 | 46.4 | 16.7 | 24.1 | 1.9 | 47.8 | 2.8 |

The sex division of Negro leaders is quite in contrast to that of the whites. The latter group, as we have seen, is evenly divided as to men and women. In comparison, over 62 per cent of the Negro leaders are men. There exists up to the present time a tendency to believe that leadership among Negroes should be largely in the hands of the men. The rank and file of Negro women as well as men concur in this, either definitely or tacitly. The need—if still more capable work is to be done in the Negro neighborhoods—is for a larger proportion of Negro women leaders.

Outstanding social and economic differences between Negroes and whites, both among leaders and followers, will be analyzed in the various topics discussed in subsequent chapters. It may be pointed out here, however, that in the development of the Negro towards a higher economic and social plane, the main resource lies in the people themselves. The neighborhood leadership program affords one opportunity for self-development as well as the further opportunity of cooperation with whites in the same neighborhoods or communities. The excellent work being done by many of the Negro leaders sets a standard for future performance and achievement for all. The rank and file of rural Negroes have a long way to go in order to reach minimum economic security and health and decency levels of living. White and Negro leadership in cooperation can help greatly in their attainment.

AGE

The average age of the 966 leaders was slightly over 48 years. More adequately analyzed, the median age of white men was 52 years; of white women, 44 years (Table 2, p. 28). Negro leaders were on the average about the same age as white leaders. In rural areas, acceptance as an outstanding leader must generally wait upon the middle years of life. Less than 10 per cent of the men were under 35 years of age. In contrast, 33 per cent of the men and 31 per cent of the women were in the age group 45-54 years of age. Approximately one-half of all leaders were 45-64 years of age.

In an occupation in which young men first serve under their parents and in which experience counts for so much, the accumulation of years is important. The short cuts produced by advanced formal education in attaining town and village leadership are not present to a marked degree among farm men and women.⁴ Where social life is so intertwined with family life, as it is in the rural neighborhood, sufficient years is paramount in attaining a status that will lead to

⁴For a discussion of the importance of formal education in rural counties, see page 69.

an adequate response from one's neighborhood. There is no substitute for experience in farm life. There are not the possibilities for a rapid climb up the economic and social ladder which exist in the more urban areas.

Wisdom is believed to increase with age, and that wisdom is valued largely in terms of the age of a man or woman. The older person is listened to in terms of his accumulated wisdom.

Another factor is present that makes for an older group of leaders. The years of youth and early manhood are occupied with obtaining a foothold and a possible competence on the part of the family. For the man the struggle is usually hard and occupies his entire energies. In the vigor of early manhood he is normally intent on this primarily individualistic purpose. The farm woman is little more than a girl in her early years of married life and from the late teens to the late thirties and early forties she is engaged in bearing and rearing children, as well as taking care of the household side of farming, and, for the great bulk of farm women in the South, pitching in on the farm work at peak seasons of the years when all hands are needed from the youngest possible child to the oldest possible grandparent. To put it mildly, she too is engrossed in her daily, weekly, and annual cycle of tasks. As time passes and the youngsters take over more of the farm and household affairs, the middle-aged couple have more time to spend on outside matters. Their years of toil and experience have fitted them for potential leadership in rural affairs. Leadership and competency have begun to be demonstrated prior to these middle years. Unconsciously the neighborhood and community members have recognized that such and such a person is outstanding in that he or she can "speak up" or "gets things done." Where such a state of affairs exists, and it does exist practically universally, the stage is set for the social utilization of these proved and accepted leaders.

No one is a shrewder judge of the human behavior of his immediate fellows than the farmer. His life is a full one, engaged in wresting a livelihood from an often reluctant Dame Nature, and in the course of the years he gains a social shrewdness in contact with his neighbors and in reflection in the long hours when he is working and in little contact with them.

In comparing the sexes, the disparity in the age distributions as well as in the average age is explainable by several factors. In some cases the age of the women may have been understated. Part of the explanation lies in the normally lower age of wives than of husbands. Also, 50 per cent of the women are in Home Demonstration clubs. These tend to attract the younger women so that leadership stem-

ming from the club organization would be a relatively young leadership. There is no particular evidence on the other hand that the experience and the prestige of advanced years is greater among men than among women.

Leadership is not only largely denied to the young men and women. Less than 10 per cent of the leaders are 65 years of age and over. As might be expected, the difference between men and women is marked. While 13 per cent of the white men are 65 and over only 4 per cent of the white women are in this older age category. We may conclude that older men are quite definitely considered as leaders. The experience and wisdom of age count among the men. With the women, this is also true but to a lesser extent. Younger, more energetic, women are the leaders. More importantly, the older women reached their potential ages of leadership in a day when women generally were not expected to become leaders except in certain specified spheres, such as home or church or philanthropic work.

In comparing the sexes, then, we find relatively few young leaders, with a larger percentage of younger women than of men. Leadership among men is found both in the prime of life and in the later years. Among women of the present generation, neighborhood leadership declines rapidly with advancing years. On the other hand, the age distribution of the women, plus knowledge as to the changing attitudes towards women, leads to the predication that the next generation of older women will have more of a voice in the leadership of rural affairs.



CHAPTER 5

Programs Presented by Leaders

Numerous programs have been presented to farm families by the leaders since the neighborhood leadership organization began to function in 1942. Various special programs were getting under way before the Pearl Harbor attack occurred, but the war provided a great impetus to their development. The utilization of the men and women serving as neighborhood leaders has been an important factor in the war-time contributions of the farm and the farmer to the country. The development of neighborhood leadership on a systematic basis came about just when it was sorely needed and provided a way literal-

ly to reach the last family on the last row. A list of the programs presented in each county is included in Table 4.

The number of leaders presenting a particular program depended upon several factors. The felt need for some programs differed from area to area, sometimes from one neighborhood to another. The interest of leaders naturally varied. Since neighborhood leadership is

TABLE 4. PROGRAMS PRESENTED BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1942, AND MAY 31, 1943, TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD LEADERS FOR PRESENTATION TO FAMILIES

A. ANSON COUNTY

| Programs | Time of presentation | |
|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| | White | Negro |
| Scrap iron and rubber collection | Continuous, 1942 and 1943 | — — — — — |
| Machinery repair | February and March, 1942 and 1943 | — — — — — |
| Victory garden, 1942 | February and March, 1942 | February and March, 1942 |
| Victory garden, 1943, | February and March, 1943 | February and March, 1943 |
| Cost of living | May, 1942 | May, 1942 |
| Soybean and peanut production | Spring, 1942 and 1943 | Spring, 1942 and 1943 |
| 4-H mobilization | April, 1942, and February, 1943 | April, 1942, and February, 1943 |
| Civilian defense | 1942 | 1942 |
| War bonds and stamps | Continuous, 1942 and 1943 | Continuous, 1942 and 1943 |
| Red Cross | March, 1943 | March, 1943 |
| Auto transportation pools | Continuous, 1942 and 1943 | Continuous, 1942 and 1943 |
| Sugar rationing and point rationing | June, 1942, and March, 1943 | June, 1942, and March, 1943 |
| Share the meat | December, 1942 | December, 1942 |
| Farm inventory | January-April, 1943 | January-April, 1943 |
| Farm labor | March and April, 1943 | — — — — — |
| War production goals | November, 1942, and February-April, 1943 | — — — — — |
| Turkey cooperative | Continuous, 1942 and 1943 | — — — — — |

B. BLADEN COUNTY

| Programs | Time of presentation | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | White | Negro |
| Scrap iron and rubber collection | April, 1942 | December, 1942 |
| Machinery repair | October, 1942 | — — — — — — — — |
| Victory garden, 1942 | February-March, 1942 | — — — — — — — — |
| Victory garden, 1943 | January-April, 1943 | March and April, 1943 |
| Cost of living | May, 1942 | — — — — — — — — |
| Soybeans and peanut production | Continuous, 1942 | February, 1943 |
| 4-H mobilization | April, 1942, and February, 1943 | February, 1943 |
| War bonds and stamps | July, 1942 | January, 1943 |
| Share the meat | November and December, 1942 | December, 1942 |
| Farm inventory | March and April, 1943 | March, 1943 |
| Auto transportation pools | — — — — — — — — | Continuous, 1943 |

C. CHOWAN COUNTY

| Programs | Time of presentation | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | White | Negro |
| Scrap iron and rubber collection | January, February, and June, 1942 | February and March, 1942 |
| Machinery repair | February and March, 1942 | March, 1942 |
| Victory garden, 1942 | February and March, 1942 | February and March, 1942 |
| Victory garden, 1943 | March, 1943 | March, 1943 |
| Cost of living | June, 1942 | April, 1942 |
| Auto transportation pools | July, 1942 | November, 1942 |
| Share the meat | December, 1942 | December, 1942 |
| Orchards | November, 1942 | Nov. 1942-March, 1943 |
| Food production goals | November, 1942 | Nov. 1942-March, 1943 |
| 4-H mobilization | — — — — — — — — | Spring, 1943 |
| Food preservation | — — — — — — — — | March, 1943 |
| Milk cow survey | — — — — — — — — | January, 1943 |
| Poultry production | — — — — — — — — | March, 1943 |

D. DAVIDSON COUNTY

| Programs | Time of presentation |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Scrap iron and rubber collection | Spring, 1942 |
| Machinery repair | Spring, 1942 |
| Victory garden, 1942 | March, 1942 |
| Victory garden, 1943 | February and March, 1943 |
| Cost of living | March, 1942 |
| Soybean and peanut production | Spring, 1942 and 1943 |
| War bonds and stamps | May, 1942 |
| Share the meat | December, 1942 |

* Too few Negro leaders in county for a tabulation by race.

E. GRANVILLE COUNTY

| Programs | Time of presentation | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| | White | Negro |
| Scrap iron and rubber collection | January and November, 1942 | — — — — — |
| Machinery repair | September, 1942 | — — — — — |
| Victory garden, 1942 | March, 1942 | — — — — — |
| Victory garden, 1943 | March, 1943 | March, 1943 |
| Cost of living | June, 1942 | — — — — — |
| War bonds and stamps | November, 1942 | February, 1943 |
| Grease and fat collection | September, 1942 | — — — — — |
| Share the meat | December, 1942 | December, 1942 |
| Food production goals | June, 1942 | January-March, 1943 |
| Farm inventory | — — — — — | Spring, 1943 |

F. MACON COUNTY

| Programs | Time of presentation |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Scrap iron and rubber collection | February-November, 1942 |
| Machinery repair | March, 1942 |
| Victory garden, 1942 | March, 1942 |
| Victory garden, 1943 | March, 1943 |
| Cost of living | March, 1942 |
| Soybean production | Spring, 1943 |
| War bonds and stamps | Continuous, 1942 and 1943 |
| Red Cross | March, 1943 |
| Auto transportation pools | Continuous, 1942 and 1943 |
| Milk cow survey | January, 1942 |
| Food production goals | April, 1943 |
| Forest fire control | Spring, 1943 |

* Too few Negro leaders in county for a tabulation by race.

not a fixed organizational group, there could be nothing mandatory about any program. In many of the programs the patriotic motive served as a sufficient inducement.

In any program, the ideas may well be presented by any individual in a neighborhood or community, not necessarily one designated through the neighborhood leadership organization. The Red Cross drive is a case in point. Numerous persons participated in canvassing the rural neighborhoods throughout the state, making the utilization of a specific neighborhood leader unnecessary. Again, those leaders who had not been functioning as far back as January 1942 would of course not have had the opportunity of participating in all the programs. These are some of the main factors in the differences in participation in the various activities at the time of the study.

It is pertinent at this point to examine a few of the more important drives, as a background for understanding the functioning of the leaders. Such analysis also shows the opportunity which these activities and drives have afforded as a basis for studying the leadership system in the field.

Two types of programs have received special and sympathetic treatment. While they originated in the Nation's capital, the need for them was so obvious that the leaders throughout the state whole-

heartedly supported the plans. The collection of scrap iron and rubber is one of the programs. The publicity was adequate; the need for the drive was clear-cut and appealed to the mass of the people. Consequently, 69 per cent of the leaders in the six survey counties were instrumental in presenting the scrap iron collection program. Since the rubber collection program was coupled with it, all but four of the leaders who presented the scrap iron program presented the latter program at the same time. The success of the scrap collection drives in the rural areas of the state was directly tied up with the cooperation of the leaders and their neighbors in every aspect of the campaign. Leaders not only explained the reasons for the drive but also managed the channel of collection and storage. A prevalent type of aid was the utilization of their own trucks in the hauling of material from the farms which lacked, or failed to provide, needed transportation facilities.

A second type of program which fitted in well with the habits and the times was the planting of victory gardens. A large proportion of southern farmers have inadequate gardens. This is particularly true of the tenant and sharecropper groups. Few have as much variety in garden produce, or vegetables for as many months of the year, as they can readily provide. The advent of war and the scarcity and cost of purchased food prepared the way for the garden program. The rise in prices of cotton and tobacco, on the other hand, retarded it. Leaders were on the whole convinced of the need for urging their neighbors to plant "bigger and better" gardens. These programs were presented in both 1942 and 1943. In the former year 68 per cent of the leaders actively presented the plans. In the latter year, over 71 per cent of the leaders were instrumental in this program. The latter figure is lower than the actuality because of the fact that the study was begun in the spring months and some of the leaders had not yet talked to their neighbors about 1943 victory gardens.

Other programs in which the leaders participated in large numbers were varied in nature. Bond and stamp drives and Red Cross campaigns received definite support. In both types of activity, the relation to the war effort was obvious. In both drives other individuals from town and country participated, so that the proportions of leaders actively engaged were reduced. The same was true of the auto transportation pool, although here was a type of activity not applicable everywhere. The share-the-meat program was loyally presented by leaders, even though the program was far from popular in the rural areas. The same determination to present the program was evidenced in connection with the cost-of-living program, although there was

lack of enthusiasm for it because of the theoretical and complex nature of the subject from the farmer's point of view.

Many other programs have been presented and developed by the leaders from early 1942 up to the present. These programs can be divided into two groups. The first have been the war programs, designed to attain a specific objective through a short, intensive drive. These have been absolutely necessary from the standpoint of a nation at war, and on the whole they have been quite successful. The neighborhood leaders deserve their share of praise for a patriotic job well done.

The other type of program thus far has been less adequately presented. This has to do with general farm and home activities not specifically related to the war effort. Even here, however, the programs have been thought of largely as war activities. The need for such programs is great. The utilization of neighborhood leaders has helped and will continue to help to fill that need. The development of the programs presents the opportunity for studying the operation, the strengths, and the weaknesses in the utilization of local leadership in an important segment of American life.

PART II

Characteristics of Leaders

CHAPTER 6

The Factor of Residence

WHERE LEADERS COME FROM

The leaders in most urban fields come originally from places of widely divergent size. With rural leaders, one would expect a greater concentration of origin in a rural environment. The data for the neighborhood leaders bear out this supposition with a vengeance. All except 3 per cent of the leaders were born in rural areas. Ninety-five per cent were born on farms. Less than 1 per cent were born in cities of 5,000 population or more. Because of growth of urban areas, the category of city was considered as at the time of birth rather than at the latest census.

Negro leaders are even more rural in early background than whites, only 2 per cent having been born in urban areas. The proportion of both races born on farms is the same, 95 out of every 100 leaders.

Farming is largely a man's job. Relatively few women own farms and then marry men who will run these farms. On the other hand, men who are interested in agriculture either are or expect to become farmers in their own right. While it would hardly be correct to say that men obtain wives primarily to help them operate their farms, in the folkways of farming men expect their help-mates to do more than perform the ordinary household tasks. In the nature of the case, one would expect proportionately more men than women in the group studied to be farm-born. Actually, over 97 per cent of the men were born on farms. In no other major occupation is the leadership so generally drawn from one type of residence background. In contrast to the men, approximately 91 per cent of the women leaders were born on farms. This figure by itself is no mean proportion; it simply represents a somewhat less overwhelming percentage of farm-born leaders than is found among the men. At the other end of the scale, there is a larger proportion of urban-born women than men among rural leaders. This is connected with the fact that most successful farmers need to have a farm background, whereas this is true to a lesser extent among their wives, since women's work is more in the home, and their farm work is adjusted to their growing experience. Furthermore, men can range farther afield for their spouses than can women in the same quest.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Most rural neighborhood leaders might be expected to be farmers who live on the farms they till. Actually 96 per cent of the entire group surveyed come under this heading. None of the leaders live in cities of 5,000 population or more. One per cent live in towns of 2,500 to 5,000 population with twice their number living in villages of less than 2,500 population. A slightly higher percentage of white than Negro leaders live on farms, but the difference is not important.

There is a sex difference in place of residence. While the great majority of both men and women live on farms, 6 per cent of the women, as compared with 3 per cent of the men are non-farm dwellers. While the proportions involved are small, the figures are indicative of a generally less rural environment of women neighborhood leaders as compared with men.

It is pertinent to note that the leaders are distinguished by little absentee ownership, such as is prevalent in some sections of the South. Of course if men were absentee owners, even though they visited their farms regularly, they would hardly be chosen by their neighbors as leaders.

The close connection between home and work found among farmers emphasizes the fact that farming is a way of life as well as a way of making a living. It gives coloring to the possibilities inherent in neighborhood leadership where groups are so highly integrated in their living and their work and altogether have so much in common with each other since their interests are much the same. Contrast this with an urban existence in which the juxtaposition of neighbors has no particular relationship either to their work or to each other's interests, except of belonging, very roughly, to approximately the same income groups. Here is a reason why neighborhood leadership in urban areas must develop differently from the same phenomenon in rural areas.

SPATIAL MOBILITY

Spatial mobility refers to the movement of people from one area to another. In this study it includes the extent of farm to off the farm movement and *vice versa*.

Practically all studies of mobility in the United States show a definitely urban trend (except in periods of economic crisis or, for specific areas, in time of war). There is an interesting contrast in the present rural leadership picture. Only 4 per cent of those leaders born on farms were non-farm dwellers at the time of the study.

In contrast four out of five of the leaders born off the farm live on farms at the present time. The reason for this is obvious. The neighborhood leader is usually a farmer or a farmer's wife and any movement would be in the direction of farms. With regard to neighborhood leaders, the recruitment from non-farm sources is an important factor, but the building up and retention of a rural leadership, born on farms, is proportionately far more important.

Race differences are worthy of note in this regard. The relatively greater recruitment of white than of Negro leaders from non-farm sources is evidence of the greater channels of opportunity open to white than Negro farmers. Negro non-farmers find that the opportunity for urban and village employment offers an economic inducement often more alluring than the prospects of farm ownership. Moreover, the Negro farmer has a decided advantage over the originally nonfarm Negro in attaining a position of rural leadership. The same is true in the case of whites, but its comparative importance is somewhat less. The numbers upon which this analysis is partially based were so small for nonfarm origins that it was corroborated by obtaining a general consensus of those whose activities keep them in touch with rural activities and leadership.

There is an important connotation in regard to the large proportion of rural leaders retaining their farm residence. Studies of migration of leading men and women have pointed out the danger to the rural regions in losing so large a proportion of their leaders. This is true as far as it goes. It has not been realized by students of migration that leadership is not necessarily associated with urban or semi-urban residence. The rural man or woman who migrates to the city does so with the intention, logically, of pursuing an urban job or career. The leadership achieved is credited to an urban area. This is correct. What is not correct is the neglect of a rural leadership which operates on a fundamentally different basis. Rural values, where truly rural, are not the same necessarily as urban. Financial success, professional success, organizational leadership are not comparable in the two groupings. Any investigation of the present type would uncover a wealth of rural leadership, actual or potential, that is well worth the effort of seeking out and developing. This is all the more necessary since the rewards are less likely to be monetary than in urban areas.

Proceeding further with the analysis of spatial mobility, intermigration throws light on the mobility process. Over three-fourths (77 per cent) of the entire leadership group are residents of the county in which they were born. Almost nine out of every ten lead-

ers now reside in the county of their birth or in a county adjacent to it. Only 6 per cent of the entire group were born outside the state.

The lack of mobility of the Negro leaders is even more remarkable than that of the group as a whole. Over four-fifths of the Negro leaders (82 per cent) were born in the county in which they now reside and have achieved leadership. Ninety-three per cent come from places lying either within their present county or the county adjacent to the one where they now reside. Less than 6 per cent come from outside the state, and all but one of the 14 leaders involved come from a state immediately adjacent to North Carolina.

Only one white leader came from outside the boundaries of the United States. All of the Negroes are native-born. There are several factors present in this lack of foreign-born status, which is so different from the usual case in regard to leaders. The city has traditionally been the attraction ground for foreign-born people. Add to that the fact that in North Carolina, practically all (99.8 per cent) of the rural people are native-born, and this indigenous aspect is no more than to be expected.

The previous analysis of sex differences in mobility would lead to an expectation of greater mobility on the part of the women leaders. The data bear this out. Seventy-two per cent of the women were born in the county where they now reside and are leaders, in comparison with 81 per cent of the men. Whether it be from the adjacent county (14 per cent of the women as compared with 11 per cent of the men), other areas in the state (7 per cent of the women; 3 per cent of the men), or from outside the state (7 per cent of the women; 5 per cent of the men), the picture is the same. Here again mobility is tied up with the fact that men are more bound to the land, and at the same time are able to seek mates from more distant areas. Thus the greater psychological and social freedom offered men in American society is met by a force which makes for lesser spatial mobility on the part of the male leaders as compared with the leaders of the opposite sex.

White women among the neighborhood leaders are a more mobile group than either white men or Negro women. The only new point to be made in this regard is the relatively lesser mobility of Negro women.

Much has been written about the loss of the more capable men by their removal from rural to urban areas. There is no denying the fact that to the extent this is so it is undesirable from the viewpoint of rural society. These men and women leaders, however,

point to an encouraging as well as vital fact. Leadership potentialities apparently exist in a large part of the population. Under the stress of environmental stimuli and in response to these "pressures," this leadership potential takes different forms. The conclusion as a result of direct contact with these leaders is inescapable that in every area and in practically every neighborhood, the potentiality of adequate leadership exists. In practically all cases, that leadership can be further developed by adequate supervision, contact, explanation, and training. Herein lies an important factor in the social utilization of people as leaders among their fellows.

CHAPTER 7

Occupations

Since this is a study of neighborhood leadership as it operates in rural areas, it would be expected that the great bulk of the leaders would be primarily farmers. Actually over 98 per cent of the male leaders were engaged in farming as a primary or secondary occupation.¹ Of the married women leaders, 93 per cent were wives of men whose primary or secondary occupation was agricultural in nature. When primary occupation only was considered 91 per cent of the men were found to be farmers, and 80 per cent of the women were wives of farmers (Table 5).

Four out of five of the male leaders who were engaged in agriculture as the primary occupation owned their farms (Table 6). Of agricultural leadership is highly significant in terms both of amount and of economic status to the extent that farm ownership is an index of higher status than tenancy among agriculturally occupied people.

That one farmer out of five did not own land is interesting in itself. A few of the farm managers did own small acreages which they themselves did not operate. The extent of non-ownership of the land tilled is a reflection of the wide-spread non-ownership of land among

¹ Schedule instructions were as follows: "Enter as the *primary occupation* the employment from which the man receives the greatest proportion of his money income or the one to which he devotes the greatest proportion of his time, i.e., the one which he considers the more important. Enter as the *secondary occupation* any other occupation from which he receives income. If there is more than one, enter all of them, underlining the chief secondary occupation."

TABLE 5. PRIMARY OCCUPATION OF MALE LEADERS AND OF HUSBANDS OF FEMALE LEADERS, BY RACE

| Primary occupation | Occupation of male leaders | | | | Occupation of husbands of female leaders* | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------|-------|----------|---|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------|
| | Total | | White | | Negro | | Total | | White | |
| | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent |
| Total | 514 | 100.0 | 356 | 100.0 | 158 | 100.0 | 383 | 100.0 | 298 | 100.0 |
| None | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | .3 | 1 | .3 |
| Professional and semi-professional workers | 7 | 1.4 | 4 | 1.1 | 3 | 1.9 | 6 | 1.6 | 4 | 1.3 |
| Farmers and farm managers | 470 | 91.3 | 323 | 90.6 | 147 | 93.1 | 306 | 79.9 | 234 | 78.7 |
| Farm owners | 377 | 73.2 | 292 | 81.9 | 85 | 53.9 | 243 | 63.4 | 206 | 69.3 |
| Farm managers | 8 | 1.6 | 7 | 2.0 | 1 | .6 | 6 | 1.6 | 6 | 2.0 |
| Farm tenants | 54 | 10.5 | 21 | 5.9 | 33 | 20.9 | 33 | 8.6 | 19 | 6.4 |
| Farm sharecroppers | 31 | 6.0 | 3 | .8 | 28 | 17.7 | 24 | 6.3 | 3 | 1.0 |
| Proprietors, managers, and officials, excluding farm | 13 | 2.5 | 11 | 3.1 | 2 | 1.3 | 16 | 4.2 | 15 | 5.0 |
| Clerical, sales, and kindred workers | 8 | 1.6 | 8 | 2.3 | — | — | 9 | 2.3 | 9 | 3.0 |
| Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers | 6 | 1.2 | 5 | 1.4 | 1 | .6 | 21 | 5.5 | 19 | 6.4 |
| Operatives and kindred workers | 2 | .4 | 1 | .3 | 1 | .6 | 5 | 1.3 | 4 | 1.3 |
| Domestic service workers | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | .3 | — | — |
| Protective service workers | 2 | .4 | 2 | .6 | — | — | 4 | 1.0 | 4 | 1.3 |
| Service workers, excluding domestic and protective | 1 | .2 | — | — | 1 | .6 | — | — | — | — |
| Farm laborers and foremen | 3 | .6 | — | — | 3 | 1.9 | 2 | .5 | — | — |
| Laborers, excluding farm | 2 | .4 | 2 | .6 | — | — | 12 | 3.1 | 8 | 2.7 |

* Exclusive of 69 female leaders who were single, widowed, divorced, or separated.

TABLE 6. TENURE STATUS OF MALE LEADERS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AS THE PRIMARY OCCUPATION, BY RACE

| Tenure status | Total | | White | | Negro | |
|---------------|--------|----------|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| Total | 473 | 100.0 | 323 | 100.0 | 150 | 100.0 |
| Farm owners | 377 | 79.7 | 292 | 90.4 | 85 | 56.6 |
| Farm managers | 8 | 1.7 | 7 | 2.2 | 1 | .7 |
| Farm tenants | 54 | 11.4 | 21 | 6.5 | 33 | 22.0 |
| Sharecroppers | 31 | 6.6 | 3 | .9 | 28 | 18.7 |
| Farm laborers | 3 | .6 | — | — | 3 | 2.0 |

the agriculturally occupied husbands of the women leaders, almost the same proportion were farm owners (Table 7). Thus, the purely

TABLE 7. TENURE STATUS OF HUSBANDS OF FEMALE LEADERS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE AS THE PRIMARY OCCUPATION, BY RACE

| Tenure status | Total | | White | | Negro | |
|---------------|--------|----------|--------|----------|--------|----------|
| | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| Total | 308 | 100.0 | 234 | 100.0 | 74 | 100.0 |
| Farm owners | 243 | 78.8 | 206 | 88.0 | 37 | 50.0 |
| Farm managers | 6 | 1.9 | 6 | 2.6 | — | — |
| Farm tenants | 33 | 10.7 | 19 | 8.1 | 14 | 18.9 |
| Sharecroppers | 24 | 8.0 | 3 | 1.3 | 21 | 28.4 |
| Farm laborers | 2 | .6 | — | — | 2 | 2.7 |

the farming population in general in this area of the United States.²

The racial difference in ownership is so pronounced in the South that a separate analysis was made of the proportions of farmers and of farm-ownership. Among the male leaders, 95 per cent of the Negroes were engaged in farming as the primary occupation as compared with 91 per cent of the whites. Thus the Negro leadership is even more purely agricultural than is that of the whites. On the other hand, the greater diversity of occupations among the rural white men is a reflection of the higher economic and social status of the white group and of their greater opportunity. This higher economic and social status is also shown by the analysis of farm ownership of those who were engaged primarily in agriculture. Nine out of ten of

² Among all white farmers in the six counties in 1940, 67.7 per cent were full or part owners or managers and 42.3 per cent were tenants, including sharecroppers. Among Negro farmers, the comparable percentages were 38.6 and 61.4, respectively, Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Agriculture*.

the white male farmer leaders owned the land they tilled as compared with less than six out of ten of the Negro group (Table 6). In comparison only one out of 14 white males was a tenant or sharecropper but two out of five Negroes reported such tenure status. Purely farm laborers *as leaders* were almost non-existent for both groups, there being only three Negroes and no whites in this category. The data do not suggest that the status of tenant or sharecropper is less of a handicap in attaining leadership among Negroes than among whites.

The tenure status of the husbands of the married women leaders was comparable. Among those engaged primarily in agriculture, 88 per cent of the whites owned their farms as compared with 50 per cent of the Negroes.

That white agricultural leaders are more fortunate economically is a factor in what should be more adequate leadership material among the whites. On the other hand, among both whites and Negroes, the non-landowning group contains leadership that possesses other qualities which have enabled them to attain positions of leadership in their various neighborhoods and communities. Land ownership is important, but it is by no means the only factor in leadership. Its importance increases as it is found to be bound up in a matrix of other factors.

Although the agricultural occupations overshadow all other occupational groupings, there are other occupations which contain sufficient numbers to warrant further analysis. For men leaders, the nonfarm occupational groups including more than 1 per cent of the total are country store-keepers, professional men (ministers and school men), craftsmen (chiefly carpenters) and clerks in village and country stores. The place of the country store in the rural leadership pattern is worthy of more than passing notice. Three per cent of the male leaders and 4 per cent of the husbands of female leaders are proprietors of or clerks in general stores (Table 5). The country store has lost much of its trade to the mail order houses and to the town and city stores. In many a rural neighborhood, however, it still functions both as a place to satisfy immediate personal, household, and farm needs and as a place where friends and neighbors meet. The storekeeper and his helper are in a position where sooner or later most of the neighborhood men and a large proportion of the neighborhood women come into contact with each other as well as the "man behind the counter." Consequently, if capable and liked by his neighbors, the country storekeeper can perform the duties of a neighborhood leader with directness and a minimum of effort and energy. In-

deed in quite a few of the counties visited, which were not included in the schedule survey for the present study, the county agents have been quite impressed with the suitability and the functioning of these general store people as leaders in their particular neighborhoods. The few professional men, chiefly preachers and teachers, combine a professional attitude towards their work with a fundamental interest in farm affairs in their particular neighborhoods and communities. The men of other non-agricultural occupations are primarily men who, while not farmers, are considered as leaders because of their activities and accomplishments in their rural neighborhoods.

The women leaders of course must be considered from a somewhat different angle. Ninety-eight per cent of the married white women and eighty-nine per cent of the married Negro women are classified occupationally as housewives. Their husbands' occupations, like those of the male leaders, were primarily agricultural in nature. However, there was a wider diversification of occupational interests. Professional men (chiefly ministers and teachers), proprietors of stores, and craftsmen (chiefly carpenters and men-of-all-work) each were represented by more than 4 per cent of the total. Another non-farming group worthy of mention were the clerks in general stores and the group of nonfarm laborers (Table 5). Their wives for the most part were leaders in terms of their women neighbors and only incidentally were bound up with their husbands' occupations, except insofar as their occupations were an aid in the women's work of leadership. The country store has been mentioned. The professional men's status was a direct benefit to the wives, but the overwhelming proportion of female leaders were such because of their direct attainment of leadership status among their friends and neighbors, chiefly housewives like themselves and fundamentally interested in the farm and home cycle of living in agricultural areas.

Among the white women as a whole, only 48 were neither housewives nor housekeepers for their families or relatives. Of the 48, 29 were engaged in farming, three-fourths as farm owners. School teachers, postmistresses, and clerks, in the order named, were of some importance. Among the Negro women, the profession of school teacher claimed two-thirds of the women who were not housewives or housekeepers. Only four were engaged primarily in farming. Postmistresses and clerks were found only among the whites, whereas the school teachers had a relatively more important neighborhood leadership position among the rural Negroes than among rural white people.

Thus farmers are in the great majority as neighborhood leaders and their occupation as well as numbers accounts for this. The use

of the occasional man or woman in other occupational fields is a tribute in part to their personality and social leadership and in part to the fact that their occupation combined with these other factors gives them a leadership status that might well be availed of to a greater extent than at present.

SECONDARY OCCUPATIONS

Agriculture is an absorbing occupation for those who pursue it. The work often is hard. The farmer's day is long. Yet there are periods during the year when necessary activities slacken up. The enterprising farmer can often find supplementary work not too far removed from his inclination and home area. Of the male leaders engaged in farming, almost one out of five had secondary occupations

TABLE 8. AGRICULTURE AS THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY OCCUPATIONS OF MALE LEADERS AND OF HUSBANDS OF FEMALE LEADER:

| Primary occupation | Total | | Secondary occupation | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|----------|----------------------|------|---------|
| | Number | Per cent | None | Farm | Nonfarm |
| Male leaders | | | | | |
| Total | 514 | 100.0 | 394 | 33 | 87 |
| Farm | 473 | 92.0 | 388 | — | 85 |
| Nonfarm | 41 | 8.0 | 6 | 33 | 2 |
| Husbands of female leaders | | | | | |
| Total | 383 | 100.0 | 256 | 51 | 76 |
| None | 1 | .3 | 1 | — | — |
| Farm | 308 | 80.4 | 235 | — | 73 |
| Nonfarm | 74 | 19.3 | 20 | 51 | 3 |

of a nonfarm nature (Table 8). If analysed in terms of farm ownership, one-fifth of the owners of farms had a secondary occupation as compared with only one-tenth of the farmers who were not owners. Theoretically tenants and sharecroppers would respond more quickly to the need for added revenue. Actually the owners have a larger proportion and wider variety of secondary occupations. Of the 75 farm owners with secondary occupations, three groups stand out. There were 20 who were owners of stores, 17 who were nonfarm laborers, and 16 who were some type of craftsman. The ownership of the general store is quite common among farmers. The farm owners here portrayed have a definite amount of "get-up," as is witnessed not only in this secondary occupation but also in the non-agricultural occupations. The craftsmen were largely farmers who uti-

lized their spare time and their skill in hiring out as carpenters, builders, and in other semi-skilled work. The farmers who worked as laborers did the same thing in jobs requiring less skill and providing less remuneration but which also added to their cash income.

The secondary occupations of the husbands of female leaders follow similar patterns. The proportion of farm owners who have secondary occupations again is decidedly higher than the percentage of tenants and sharecroppers who have secondary occupations. In this group, the same types of secondary occupations are followed, with the proprietors, craftsmen, and nonfarm laborers again outstanding in terms of secondary occupations.

Turning to the group whose primary occupation was in the non-farm category, it is interesting to note to what degree these non-farmers engage in farming as an occupation only secondary to their chief method of obtaining a living. The great majority of the male nonfarm leadership group have a secondary occupation which is usually farming. Actually for most of them the farm operation is really on a par with their primary occupation except for the fact that the larger part of their income is derived from the occupation listed as primary. The ownership and operation of farms as either a primary or secondary occupation by 506 of the 514 male leaders is overwhelming evidence of the agricultural basis of rural neighborhood leadership in the area studied.

In the nature of the case the number of women who have secondary occupations is negligible. The married women have literally double work acting as housekeeper and giving occasional or regular aid in the farming processes. The single women who largely live on farms have much of their spare time taken up in the same way.

The group of husbands of the married women leaders are not strictly comparable with the male leaders themselves in regard to secondary occupations. Yet even here the same general conclusions are in evidence. One out of four of the farm owners was engaged in a secondary and nonfarm occupation, while among the tenants and sharecroppers one out of six had a nonfarm secondary occupation. Of the 383 husbands of female neighborhood leaders, four out of every five are engaged in farming as a primary occupation. More than two out of three of the nonfarm group are engaged in farming as a secondary occupation. In total, 359 out of 383 husbands of the women leaders operate farms as either a primary or a secondary occupation. These data reinforce the picture of a group fundamentally agricultural as well as rural in outlook.

AGE AT BEGINNING FIRST FULL-TIME JOB

Country people start working early in life. Farm children are utilized on farms at an early age. In contrast to city children, their play and the farm work soon merge into one another. By the time they have entered school, children have learned work suitable physically to their years. During their school days, much of their spare time is taken up with helping in the home and on the farm. As they grow older, the tasks grow heavier. By the time they have finished their formal schooling, most rural children have become familiar with the routine work of the farm and graduate into family farm workers, paid or unpaid. For purposes of the study all those who were farming, full-time, for their family on their sixteenth birthday were considered as having been working before then. On this basis, of the male leaders who are in agriculture today, 78 per cent began full-time work before they were 16. Ninety-one per cent were working on a full-time basis by the time they had reached their seventeenth birthday. In contrast, about three-fifths of the nonfarm leaders had started full-time work before they were 16. By the time the seventeenth birthday had rolled around, three-fourths of the nonfarm leaders had full-time jobs.

Thus whether rural-nonfarm or rural-farm male leaders were considered, they had begun work in great part before they were 17 years of age. The future agricultural leaders were out of school and fully employed at an earlier average age and to a greater extent than the boys who later became rural, as distinct from purely agricultural, leaders. This is in accord with the earlier utilization of youth on the farm.

Under the differing economic conditions, Negro boys would be expected to begin their full-time work at an earlier average age. For the total group of male leaders almost 94 per cent of the Negroes began work before they were 17, as compared with 89 per cent of the whites. For the purely agricultural leaders, these figures while still higher hold their relative position, over 85 per cent of the Negroes as contrasted with 91 per cent of the whites having begun full-time work by the time they were 17 years of age.

These men for the most part reached the earlier years of maturity in an era when education was not considered a prime necessity for rural youth beyond the middle teens. The folkways then—and now—still regarded work as the channel young men should pursue, both as a duty to their families and as the best course for them as individuals. These folkways, while still existing, have become less rigorous. To test the probable result of this, the percentage

of men who were working full-time by the time they were 17 years old was analysed according to age groupings. For all male leaders now 60 years of age and over, over 96 per cent had commenced their full-time working career before they were 17. As the age group decreases, the percentage regularly declined,³ until when the youngest age group was reached, the proportion dropped precipitously to somewhat less than 59 per cent. Thus one may safely conclude that the practice of dropping out of school and commencing full-time work at an early age is declining, although it is still relatively strong in rural areas. These men probably are in a somewhat higher grouping in this regard, but the progressive decline would appear to be symptomatic of what is happening in all rural groups.

OCCUPATION MOBILITY

The stability of rural leaders can be in part tested by the number of changes in occupation made since the beginning of their working days. The actual number of occupational changes made by the men ranged from none to seven changes. As a matter of fact, no change has been made by the majority as 69 per cent have remained in the same occupation since the beginning of their work career (Table 9).

TABLE 9. NUMBER OF CHANGES IN OCCUPATION^a BY MALE LEADERS, BY RACE

| Primary occupation by race | Total | Number of changes in occupation | | | |
|----------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|----|----|-----------|
| | | None | 1 | 2 | 3 or more |
| Total | 514 | 355 | 49 | 82 | 28 |
| White males | | | | | |
| Farm | 323 | 214 | 32 | 56 | 21 |
| Nonfarm | 33 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 7 |
| Negro males | | | | | |
| Farm | 151 | 132 | 5 | 14 | — |
| Nonfarm | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 | — |

^a Based on primary occupation.

Somewhat less than one out of every ten had made one change. Sixteen per cent had made two changes. Somewhat over 5 per cent had made three or more changes. Thus the occupational mobility was low for this rural leadership group.

An insight into the greater occupational stability of agricultural

³ For the 50-59 year group, the percentage was 92; for the 40-49 year group, the percentage was less than 90; for the 40-39 year group, less than 87 per cent were working at 17 years of age.

as compared with non-agricultural leaders is obtained by comparison of the number of occupational changes made by each of these two groups. Seventy-three per cent of the agricultural leaders as compared with less than 23 per cent of the nonfarm group had never changed occupations. The proportions making one, two, or three or more changes were decidedly higher among the non-agricultural than the agricultural group.

Within each race, the same picture holds with a much greater degree of occupational stability among the agricultural leaders than the non-agricultural leaders in each case.

As has been suggested, the stability of occupations is tied up with rural life, differential economic opportunities, and the attainment of leadership status. One result of staying in a particular occupational calling is probably greater possibility of attaining leadership status, insofar as rural neighborhood opinion is concerned.

Since the number of occupational changes in any sufficiently large group would be associated with age, occupational changes were further analysed where the factor of age differences was controlled. Prior to that the need for such control was evidenced by the fact that the younger groups of men had fewer occupational changes than did the older groups. This of course is merely a function of added years and a greater mathematical probability.

With the age factor controlled the same results as found previously were obtained. Age for age, whites were more mobile than Negroes; nonagricultural leaders had made more changes than agricultural leaders. Among the whites in particular the control of the age factor brings these points into sharper focus.

The contrast with the occupational changes of more urban leaders brings out the steadier, more peaceful, less changing picture of rural life not only for leaders but, by inference, for the rural groups which they represent. Leadership is achieved as a result of a combination of factors. Apparently one of the less realized factors is that of stabilization of occupation, so that a person develops in and achieves leadership status among his neighbors as the years pass.

Women leaders were not analysed according to number of occupational changes because of the fact that so few single leaders were found. Most of the married women leaders entered the occupation of "housewife" either straight from school or after a period of remaining at home and helping out with home or farm work or both. A few worked at a non-family occupation, but the actual number of these was too few for more detailed analysis.

In comparing the two races, whites are decidedly more mobile oc-

cupationally than are Negroes. The percentage of no occupational changes was far higher among the latter group, whereas the whites had a decidedly larger proportion of one or more occupational changes. This is logical in terms of the greater variety of occupational opportunity open to the white group. On the other hand it may be pointed out that the Negro men have achieved the status of neighborhood leaders in part through their occupational stability as contrasted with members of their own race who have been more mobile in this regard.

CHAPTER 8

Agricultural Operations

TYPES OF FARMS

Farming in the areas investigated has characteristics which are different in certain respects from other parts of the country. The farms are smaller on the average. The "one-crop system" is traditional, particularly in the eastern part of the State. From the social standpoint, the farmers, living closer together, are more closely bound in neighborhood units. Most farmers can look from their houses and see several other farm houses. The large isolated farmstead so prevalent in the Middle and Far West is not found to any great extent in North Carolina, which, in turn, is typical in this regard of the southeastern region as whole.

The small farms are associated with the nature of farming. On the other hand, the leaders operate a larger number of acres than the general farm population. The average (mean) number of acres, including pasture and woodland, operated by the male leaders and husbands of female leaders in 1943, for whom agriculture was the primary occupation, was 192. This figure gives an inadequate picture because of the ownership of large plantations on the part of some of the leaders. Two per cent owned 1,000 acres or more land; 5 per cent owned 600 acres or more; 9 per cent owned 400 acres or more. The size of these holdings was often attained by the operation of more than one farm through employing the system of tenancy and sharecropping widely prevalent in much of the area.

The differential in economic resources of the two races was brought

sharply into focus when size of operations was analysed by race. Seven per cent of the farms of the white leaders were 600 or more acres in size. None of the Negro leaders operated farms totaling as much as 600 acres.

Because of the distortion of the average by the larger farm operations, a more adequate measure of typical farm operations is obtained by the use of the median size of farm. The median figure was 132 acres with half the acreage operated greater and half less than this figure. Even here the acreage operated is high as compared with the average size of farm in the area involved.¹

Nevertheless the relatively small farm was still so prevalent among these leaders that an analysis of their holdings is pertinent. Somewhat over one-fourth (27 per cent) operated farms under 50 acres; a like proportion operated farms totaling from 50 to 100 acres, and 46 per cent operated farms of over 100 acres. The racial comparison is again illuminating. Whereas only 16 per cent of the white male leaders operated farms of less than 50 acres, 43 per cent of the Negro male leaders operated farms totaling less than 50 acres. Contrariwise, the proportion of whites who operated farms totaling 100 acres or more was almost twice that of the Negro group (57 per cent as compared with 32 per cent). For that important group which practiced farming as a secondary occupation, a much larger proportion had small farms than was found among those who were primarily farmers. This of course is to be expected. The racial comparison, however, again brings out the fact that Negro leaders had a decidedly larger percentage of small farm operations than whites.

Under a strict interpretation of the word, most of the farmers were general farmers, in that a "general farm" was considered to be a farm with one or more money crops plus livestock, feed crops, and gardens for home use. As a matter of fact, a large proportion of the farmers (except in the mountain area) depended to an overwhelming extent on tobacco or cotton or both as the money crops. Some went in for peanuts, some for livestock, others for grains, and a few for dairying as the principal enterprise. Truck farms were interspersed throughout, attaining more importance in the mountain and eastern areas than in the other areas studied.

As has been suggested, the type of farming had much to do with the neighborliness of the farmers. Since the farms were small, physical accessibility became a distinct aid in constant contacts and consequently greater ease in neighborhood relationships with greater

¹ The median size of farm in the six counties for all farmers in 1939 was 50.3 acres. Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Agriculture*.

social control through the neighborhood folkways. The interrelationships are thus close and the problem of functioning leadership aided. The stage is set for an adequately working rural leadership.

MOST IMPORTANT ENTERPRISES

In terms of financial return, tobacco is the most important enterprise among the male leaders and husbands of leaders surveyed (Table 10). It looms higher among the Negro farm leaders than among the whites. Cotton takes second rank. The other major enterprises in order of importance financially are peanuts, corn, truck, grains, and livestock. When analysed according to race, the general picture remains the same for the white leaders, except that corn replaces peanuts in order of importance.

For the Negro leaders, there is a decidedly heavy concentration in tobacco and cotton, these two accounting for 84 per cent of the chief enterprises among the Negro farms. Peanuts are the most important enterprise for a fair number. For the overwhelming proportion of Negro leaders, there is heavy concentration upon one crop to the exclusion of other enterprises which white leaders have found desirable. This variation is also due to the heavy concentration of Negroes in those sections of the state in which the one-crop system still prevails.

A more rounded picture is obtained by the analysis of the second most important enterprise where such existed. Corn, which occupied fourth place in the list of most important enterprises, assumed first place in the list of second most important enterprises. This was true for both races. Corn is a general purpose crop in the South, which is fed to farm animals and consumed as a staple in the average family diets with any surplus sold to others. Moreover, it is used for a crop to follow tobacco and cotton for purposes of rotation. Cotton follows as a second important enterprise. It is peculiarly a crop which requires relatively little attention at certain periods of the year. Small grains, truck crops, and peanuts, in order of financial importance, are secondary enterprises for the individual leaders.

While the study is not one of counties as such, the location of a county has much to do with the type of farm enterprises and particularly the important enterprises. A simple tabulation of those "most important" enterprises that appear in at least 10 per cent of the cases in any one county reveals the following: tobacco appears in three of the six counties represented, while cotton, small grains, peanuts, milk production, corn, truck forming, and livestock appear once each.

TABLE 10. MOST IMPORTANT ENTERPRISE OF LEADERS OR OF HUSBANDS OF FEMALE LEADERS ENGAGED IN FARMING, BY RACE

| Enterprise | Most important enterprise | | | | | Second most important enterprise | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|----------------------------------|----------|-------|----------|-------|
| | Total | | White | | Negro | Total | | White | | Negro |
| | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | | No. | Per cent | No. | Per cent | |
| Total | 858 | 100.0 | 629 | 100.0 | 229 | 100.0 | 861 | 100.0 | 631 | 100.0 |
| None | 11 | 1.3 | 7 | 1.1 | 4 | 1.7 | 113 | 13.1 | 87 | 13.8 |
| Cotton | 171 | 20.0 | 81 | 12.9 | 90 | 39.4 | 115 | 13.4 | 69 | 10.9 |
| Tobacco | 269 | 31.5 | 167 | 26.6 | 102 | 44.6 | 31 | 3.6 | 27 | 4.3 |
| Peanuts | 93 | 10.9 | 71 | 11.3 | 22 | 9.6 | 46 | 5.3 | 37 | 5.9 |
| Grains | 45 | 5.2 | 44 | 7.0 | 1 | .4 | 90 | 10.5 | 63 | 10.0 |
| Hay crops | 2 | .2 | 2 | .3 | — | — | 14 | 1.6 | 14 | 2.2 |
| Livestock | 43 | 5.0 | 43 | 6.8 | — | — | 33 | 3.8 | 32 | 5.1 |
| Swine | 14 | 1.6 | 14 | 2.2 | — | — | 46 | 5.3 | 40 | 6.3 |
| Milk | 21 | 2.4 | 21 | 3.3 | — | — | 18 | 2.1 | 18 | 2.9 |
| Corn | 86 | 10.0 | 78 | 12.4 | 8 | 3.5 | 236 | 27.3 | 138 | 21.8 |
| Poultry | 21 | 2.4 | 20 | 3.2 | 1 | .4 | 16 | 1.9 | 14 | 2.2 |
| Truck | 68 | 7.9 | 67 | 10.7 | 1 | .4 | 60 | 7.0 | 53 | 8.4 |
| Sweet potatoes | 11 | 1.3 | 11 | 1.7 | — | — | 24 | 2.9 | 20 | 3.2 |
| Irish potatoes | 2 | .2 | 2 | .3 | — | — | 7 | .8 | 7 | 1.1 |
| Soybeans | — | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | .5 | 4 | .6 |
| Acid wood | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | .6 | 5 | .8 |
| Timber | 1 | .1 | 1 | .2 | — | — | 1 | .1 | 1 | .2 |
| Syrup | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | .2 | 2 | .3 |

In moving from east to west, the northeastern coastal county reported peanuts as by far the most important single enterprise, and for three-quarters of the farms of the leaders it is the most important enterprise. In the southeastern, coastal plain county, three-quarters of the farms of the leaders were devoted primarily to the raising of tobacco as the chief money crop. In the "old tobacco" county, tobacco was preeminent, 96 per cent of the leaders' farms being devoted primarily to tobacco. In the "heavy cotton", southern county, 85 per cent of the farms analysed were devoted primarily to the raising of cotton, with small grains a poor second in this regard. The centrally located county was the most diversified agriculturally, in addition to having a great deal of industrial activity. Small grains (34 per cent), tobacco (28 per cent), and milk production (10 per cent) were the "most important enterprises" in the specified percentages of cases in a county which was well diversified agriculturally both in principal types of activity and in diversification of crops on each farm. In the mountain county corn (31 per cent), truck farming (27 per cent), and poultry raising (6 per cent) were the most important money crop enterprises.

The overall picture is one of reliance primarily on the money crops of tobacco and cotton, with other crops being emphasized according to the location of the area. In the statistical picture cotton does not achieve the importance it deserves. It is a crop from which is derived less income per acre than in the case of tobacco, but it requires less labor and more acres are utilized in its production. The leaders' farm operations are still insufficiently diversified, but they are much more diversified than those of the nonleaders. The trend is towards more and more diversification although this will probably always be dominantly a tobacco region and, to a lesser extent, a cotton region.

The relative lack of diversification in the Negro leaders' farms is a reflection of the even greater lack of diversification among Negro farmers in general. It is both a condition that needs correction and at the same time an indirect handicap in the more adequate functioning of an agricultural leadership.

TYPES OF LABOR BY TENURE STATUS

To what extent do the farmer leaders employ others? The use of additional help is one index of their status as farmers. Extra help is important in giving the men in particular the time that would enable them to function as leaders in activities that call for additional time and effort in pursuing some particular activity or project of interest to the neighborhood.

Of the farm owners, 45 per cent employed no labor, utilizing in-

stead the man power existent in the family group. Because of the different circumstances of leaders of the two races, there is an important difference in this regard. Whereas white farmer leaders utilized no outside labor in 38 per cent of the cases, Negro farm leaders utilized family labor only in 71 per cent of the cases involved.

Among the tenant farmers who were leaders, three-fourths utilized only family labor. For whites, the proportion was exactly three out of five; for Negroes, seven out of every eight tenants utilized no paid help outside of their own families.

Sharecroppers would be expected to be still more dependent upon the efforts of their own family labor, and this the figures reveal. Eighty-six per cent of the sharecroppers depended upon family labor only.

The effect of extra workers on the time and energy of neighborhood leaders is such that a separate analysis was made for the men and women farm leaders. In all three groups of farm owners, tenants, and sharecroppers, the male leaders farmed land aided only by their family to a greater extent than was the case of the husbands of women leaders. There is an additional clue here to the fact the women leaders do have, when they wish, greater time to devote themselves to interrelationships with their neighbors than the comparable group of men leaders.

The next point concerns the types of labor actually utilized. Only 15 per cent of all leaders and husbands of leaders had tenants on their farm or farms. On the other hand the utilization of sharecroppers was more widespread. One-fourth of the agricultural leaders and the husbands of leaders operated part of their acreage on a sharecropping basis, a method all too prevalent in this area of the United States. The number employing wage hands was somewhat greater, 26 per cent using wage hands in addition to their own family labor.

The difference between the races in the amount of purely family labor employed on the farms is striking. Whereas one out of five white farmers utilized tenants, only one out of 20 Negro farmers had tenants. Almost one-third of the white farmers employed men or families to work their holdings on shares; less than 8 per cent of the Negroes did so. One out of every three white farmers employed wage labor at certain seasons; only one out of 10 Negro farmers found it necessary or could afford to hire such extra help. Of the 13 Negro farmers who had tenants, only one had two tenants; the remainder had but one apiece. Of the 121 whites who had tenants 52 had two or more tenants. Of the 18 Negroes who utilized sharecroppers, only eight had two or three. None had more than three croppers. Of the

199 whites who had sharecroppers, 90 had two or more. Of the 22 Negroes who employed wage hands, nine employed two or more. Of the 206 whites employing labor on the farm, over one-half employed 2 or more laborers. Less than 2 per cent of the Negro leaders who had wage labor employed five or more persons as compared with over 22 per cent of the white employers of such labor.

The greater economic resources of the white leaders are again revealed in these figures. The leaders of each racial group epitomize the differential resources of the people of whom they are leaders. Among the Negro leaders, it means not only less aid on the farm if the family labor is insufficient. It means that they are more tied to their farms. It means consequently less free time. The Negro leaders must find other times and means whereby to contact the men and women of the neighborhoods where they have been selected or elected as leaders.

There are several mitigating circumstances that often give Negro leaders more free time, however. The farms being smaller, less time is necessary to cultivate them, since the products are not any more time-consuming per acre than those raised by white farmers. Furthermore, Negro leaders have been less called upon than their leading white neighbors to participate in community and county enterprises on a leadership basis. For outstanding leaders, there is often the danger of too many time-demanding services to the public. In this regard, the Negro leader is in a more fortunate personal position than the white leader.

It should be noted that the utilization of tenants and sharecroppers is quite common in the area under consideration. Sometimes it is in conjunction with the farmer on the land upon which he lives and which he cultivates. It is also a well-nigh universal system where farmers may own several farms—small as well as large—and where they employ either tenants or sharecroppers, or both, in the cultivating of these additional properties. Nor is it unusual for the farm owner to aid his tenants or sharecroppers with additional labor at crucial times. This labor is paid by the owner, and the amount debited in the complicated system of accounting employed in reckoning the debits and credits of the tenant or cropper in the settling up process after the crops are sold. Fourteen per cent of the owners use wage hands solely; 16 per cent of the owners utilize croppers only. Obviously where other than family labor is used, more than one type of labor is often utilized by the farm owners.

TYPES OF LABOR AND THE USE OF TRACTORS

More and more the tractor is being recognized as one index of farm status. Twenty-two per cent of the farm leaders and husbands of

TABLE 11. TYPE OF LABOR ON FARMS WHEN FARMING IS PRIMARY OR SECONDARY OCCUPATION OF LEADER OR OF HUSBAND OF FEMALE LEADER, BY USE OF TRACTORS

| Type of labor | Number of tractors per farm | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------|-----|---------------------------------|---|-------|------|
| | Farming as primary occupation | | | Farming as secondary occupation | | | N.A. |
| | Total | None | 1 | 2 | 3 | Total | |
| Total | 781 | 610 | 153 | 16 | 2 | 89 | 1 |
| None | 398 | 353 | 43 | 2 | — | 37 | 1 |
| Tenants only | 42 | 36 | 6 | — | — | 17 | 2 |
| Croppers only | 100 | 67 | 30 | 3 | — | 13 | 3 |
| Wage hands only | 113 | 80 | 29 | 4 | — | 9 | 1 |
| Tenants and croppers | 18 | 13 | 5 | — | — | — | — |
| Tenants and wage hands | 28 | 15 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 4 |
| Croppers and wage hands | 56 | 33 | 21 | 2 | — | 4 | 1 |
| All three types | 26 | 13 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 2 | — |
| Unknown | | | | | | 1 | 1 |

leaders owned at least one tractor (Table 11). The proportion while relatively small is over four times that for all farms in the counties surveyed.² The general dearth of tractors is associated with the nature of the farming enterprises, the relatively small size of the farms, the topography of the land, and the low level of economic prosperity of an important proportion of the leaders, particularly of the Negro leaders. Where farming is conducted as a secondary occupation, about one out of every seven leaders owns a tractor.

Ownership of tractors normally would be associated with tenure status. Thus the percentage owning tractors would increase if farm owners only were taken into consideration. The proportion then rises to one out of every four. If white farm owners alone are considered, over 30 per cent own tractors. As a matter of fact only 3 per cent of all the Negro farm leaders had tractors, and these leaders were all farm owners. That tenants would possess more tractors than croppers would be expected. In fact only one sharecropper owned a tractor. None of the farm leaders who were farm laborers possessed a tractor, a fact which is not particularly surprising in view of the circumstances.

When considering human aid, the relationship between the types of labor and the use of tractors brings out some rather interesting facts. Where farm owners utilize tenants only, the percentage of tractors owned is small. The tenant has his own means of cultivation which is more likely to be his own family labor and a mule. The owner has rented a particular piece of land to the tenant and it is up to the tenant to find his own means of production. Where croppers only or wage hands only are employed, the farm owner has the direct responsibility for crop production and other farm enterprises, and the ownership of tractors correspondingly increases. Obviously he will have better equipment for himself than for his tenants.

Carrying the analysis still further, one measure of farming status is employment of just one type of aid (tenant, or cropper, or wage hands only), or of two types (a combination of any two of these), or of all three types. When such a comparison was made, it was found that the percentage owning tractors increased regularly as the employment of one, two, or three types of aid was utilized. This is true both for white leaders and for Negro leaders, although none of the Negro farm owners employed all three types. The picture is further illuminated when it is noted that over two-fifths of those who employed two types of labor owned tractors; one-half of all those who

² As of January 1, 1940, only 5 per cent of the farmers in the six counties surveyed had tractors. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Agriculture*,

employed all three types of labor owned tractors.

In a state where the use of tractors is still in the early stage, the relationship between increased ownership of tractors and the broader utilization of various types of aid is considered significant both as a picture of the type of farmer and of the type of rural leadership available in the coming days of social and agricultural development.

CHANGES IN TENURE STATUS

Most of the neighborhood leaders have achieved a rather high degree of stability, both as to where they work and live and as to their occupation. Their attitudes are such, and their interest in their work so deep-seated, that the proportion of these mature men and women who will leave the agricultural sphere permanently is probably quite small. The great proportion of the farmers have become farm owners. Yet it has not always been so with them. Most of them began their occupational career on a lower rung of the ladder (almost always agricultural in nature) and by various steps or jumps finally achieved the status of owners of the land which they cultivated.

For purposes of the investigation, those men who at the age of 16 were already working for their parents on the farm were classified as family laborers at the outset of their working careers. The analysis of agricultural tenure status is confined to the men leaders, since the occupational setting of women leaders is of such a different type.

Over three-fourths (77 per cent) of the men engaged primarily in farming started their economic careers as family laborers. This is in keeping with the folkways of farm families. The help of the growing boy is utilizable on the farm at an early age and by the time he has arrived at his sixteenth birthday he ordinarily has become a valuable aid in the running of the family farm. It is fundamentally in this normal manner that the farm boy develops a series of habit patterns which fit in so well with his future activities, if they at all have to do with agriculture. If the family environment is sufficiently adequate, if the father is a good farmer, if the boy has inculcated in him a liking for farming, the boy's ambition normally would be the ultimate attainment of a farm of his own. The economic status of his family acts as an aid or as a deterrent, as the case may be. Of the white farm owners, 77 per cent were family laborers at the age of sixteen; of the Negroes 74 per cent were so engaged.

Those who were farm owners at the time of the study had arrived at that status by various steps (Table 12). Six per cent had always been owners. Since economic backgrounds might well play a part in this fortunate group, they were analysed in terms of number of acres

TABLE 12. CHANGES IN TENURE STATUS OF OWNERS,^a BY ACRES OPERATED

| Changes in tenure status | Total | | Acres operated | | | |
|---|--------|----------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
| | Number | Per cent | Under 100 acres | | 100 acres or more | |
| | | | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent |
| Total | 373 | 100.0 | 169 | 100.0 | 204 | 100.0 |
| Farm owner—no change | 21 | 5.6 | 4 | 2.4 | 17 | 8.3 |
| Family laborer to owner | 129 | 34.7 | 54 | 31.9 | 75 | 36.7 |
| Family laborer—share-cropper—owner | 25 | 6.7 | 14 | 8.3 | 11 | 5.4 |
| Family laborer—tenant—owner | 61 | 16.4 | 26 | 15.4 | 35 | 17.2 |
| Family laborer—share-cropper—tenant—owner | 12 | 3.2 | 5 | 3.0 | 7 | 3.4 |
| Family laborer—nonfarm—owner | 58 | 15.5 | 30 | 17.7 | 28 | 13.7 |
| Tenant—owner | 27 | 7.2 | 13 | 7.7 | 14 | 6.9 |
| Sharecropper—owner | 13 | 3.5 | 6 | 3.5 | 7 | 3.4 |
| Sharecropper—tenant or nonfarm—owner | 6 | 1.6 | 3 | 1.8 | 3 | 1.5 |
| Laborer—owner | 3 | .8 | 2 | 1.2 | 1 | .5 |
| Laborer—tenant or non-farm—owner | 7 | 1.9 | 5 | 3.0 | 2 | 1.0 |
| Nonfarm—sharecropper or tenant—owner | 11 | 2.9 | 7 | 4.1 | 4 | 2.0 |

^a Male leaders only.

operated. If those who operate farms of less than 100 acres are considered, only somewhat over 2 per cent have always been owners ("always" in the sense of mature working years). This rises to over 8 per cent when those who operate over 100 acres were analysed. The bi-racial analysis goes still further. The economically more fortunate white group have 9 per cent in this category when the larger farm operators alone are considered. The percentage of all Negro land owners who have been in this category from the beginning is 6 per cent if the larger land operators are considered.

One-sixth of the entire group achieved the status of ownership through passing from family labor through the status of farm tenant and then becoming owners of farms. This is the traditional way that economists hope that farm boys will work their way to the higher status of owners of land. With a lower economic status to begin with, the Negro leaders have to a much larger extent (34 per cent as compared with 11 per cent for white leaders) climbed to the ownership position through the intermediary phase of tenant.

Among the Negro leaders, there is another type of change that is a logical and progressively forward increase in status. Twelve per cent have gone through the stages of family labor, sharecropper, tenant, and then owner. The same method is negligible among the white leaders (less than 1 per cent).

Both groups have an interesting variation in climbing the agricultural ladder. That way lies through passing from family labor into the nonfarm field and through this channel arriving at the stage of farm ownership. Among the whites, 18 per cent of the farm owners had utilized this method; among the Negroes, 7 per cent had pursued the same course. The off-the-farm period was an interval during which cash was earned for later application to purchases ranging from materials and stock utilized on the farm to payments on the land itself. For many it was an interval in which they could consciously or unconsciously compare the pull of the farm with the economic and social attractiveness of rural-nonfarm or urban activity.

One more method was sufficiently widespread to elicit comment. Seven per cent of the farm owners of each race went through the simpler process of starting out in their mature economic life as farm tenants and then using this as a preliminary step to becoming farm owners.

There were other variations, which can be noted in consulting Table 12. A general comparison is worth while as to the relative number of changes made in finally achieving the approved status of farm owners. Slightly over one-half of the entire group made either no or one change. The remainder (48 per cent) went through two or three changes of status before arriving at land ownership. The larger landowners moved more directly to the status of farm owner than did the smaller landowners. White leaders on the average made decidedly fewer changes than did Negro leaders, reflecting the greater economic struggle which the Negro leaders had to undergo to achieve the higher status.³

³ Note that the discussion refers to changes in *status*. As long as a man remained a tenant, for example, he was classified as a tenant no matter if he was a tenant on several farms.

CHAPTER 9

Cultural Status of Leaders

Many factors contribute to the cultural status of any given group. Various indices have been utilized in recent years in attempts to determine as specifically as possible the comparative socio-economic standing of families, counties, and other units. No measures have been proved more effective for general evaluation, however, than the educational level of a people and the extent to which they possess the conveniences and facilities associated with what is now regarded as the American standard of living.

EDUCATION

In a society such as ours, education is one of the most important factors in the development of young men and women. The early years of the twentieth century constituted the period during which most of the leaders began their education. The schools then were at the beginning of that necessary and long development which has brought them to the developed structure of today. Education has come to be considered far more important than it was forty, thirty, or even twenty years ago. The rural schools particularly have had a rather spectacular development. The advance in schools for Negroes, since the state has a bi-racial educational system, has in recent years also taken great strides.

Almost three-fourths (74 per cent) of the entire group of leaders had finished the seventh grade which in the past has been recognized as a goal to be attained (Table 13). Three out of 10 had finished high school. One out of 23 had finished college, and three of the leaders had pursued some graduate work.

As might be expected in terms of the social and economic factors, the discrepancy between white and Negro leaders was great. Eighty-four per cent of the white leaders had finished grade school as compared with less than 45 per cent of the Negro leaders. The rate of high school graduation was three times as great among the whites as among the Negroes (36 per cent as compared with 12 per cent). It was twice as great for the college graduate (5 per cent as compared with 2.4 per cent). No Negro leader had taken post-graduate work.

There is, furthermore, a marked discrepancy between the education of the men and women. Almost seven-eighths of the women had completed the seven years of grade school as compared with some-

TABLE 13. LAST GRADE COMPLETED BY LEADERS, BY RACE AND SEX

| Last grade completed | All leaders | White | | Negro | |
|----------------------|----------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| | | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Total: | | | | | |
| Number | 960 | 354 | 354 | 157 | 95 |
| Per cent | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| None | 1.2 | .8 | — | 5.7 | — |
| One | 1.4 | .3 | — | 5.7 | 3.2 |
| Two | 1.6 | 2.0 | — | 4.5 | 1.1 |
| Three | 3.3 | 2.0 | .8 | 10.2 | 6.3 |
| Four | 5.9 | 5.6 | 1.7 | 16.6 | 5.3 |
| Five | 5.5 | 5.6 | 1.7 | 9.6 | 12.6 |
| Six | 7.1 | 8.5 | 2.3 | 14.0 | 8.4 |
| Seven | 18.7 | 21.4 | 16.6 | 18.5 | 16.7 |
| Eight | 11.8 | 16.7 | 8.8 | 6.4 | 13.7 |
| Nine | 7.5 | 6.8 | 11.0 | 1.3 | 7.4 |
| Ten | 6.5 | 6.8 | 9.0 | .6 | 5.3 |
| Eleven | 13.3 | 11.3 | 20.8 | 2.5 | 10.5 |
| Twelve | .7 | .6 | 1.4 | — | — |
| College: | | | | | |
| One year | 4.8 | 4.5 | 7.1 | .6 | 4.2 |
| Two years | 4.2 | 3.1 | 7.1 | 1.3 | 2.1 |
| Three years | 2.2 | 1.7 | 4.0 | .6 | — |
| Four years | 4.0 | 2.0 | 7.1 | 1.9 | 3.2 |
| Five years or more | .3 | .3 | .6 | — | — |
| Median grade | 7.4 | 7.2 | 9.8 | 4.8 | 6.8 |

what over three-fifths of the men. The decline in schooling during the high school years was more precipitous among the men than among the women, less than one out of five men having completed high school as compared with over two-fifths of the women. The percentage of women completing college (7 per cent) was over three times that of the men (2 per cent).

The education of the men according to whether they were agricultural or non-agricultural leaders was investigated in order to throw further light on the problem. The small group of nonfarm leaders were decidedly better educated from a formal educational standpoint. Four out of five had finished seven grades of school as compared with three out of five of the agricultural leaders. The proportion who had finished high school was more than twice as great (37 per cent as compared with 17 per cent). The discrepancy continued to widen until the proportions finishing college were somewhat more than 13 per cent for the non-agricultural leaders as compared with slightly over one per cent for the agricultural leaders. The educational attainments for both white leaders and Negro lead-

ers were decidedly higher among the non-agricultural than the agricultural leaders.

The question is, to what does this sum up? As compared with the general population in the same area, the neighborhood leaders are relatively well educated.¹ Partly because they had to go to work, partly because they wished to go to work, the boys and young men left school at an earlier age than did the girls and young women. The girls were aided by the fact that under modern conditions the attitude towards education for women has decidedly changed with the consequent feeling that, since their work was not as necessary throughout the day as that of their brothers, additional free "schooling" had much to recommend it.

The marked difference between whites and Negroes is a reflection of the superior educational advantages of the whites in the past and of the higher economic and social background of whites which acts to encourage them and discourage the Negroes. The encouraging aspect here is the recent sharp rise in educational facilities and achievement in regard to the Negro group. Finally, the better educated non-agricultural group is a symptom of several things. The farm group entered an occupation in which formal education was not deemed as necessary as for the group that did not rely primarily on agriculture as a means of obtaining a livelihood. Viewing this from another angle, the non-agricultural pursuits in many cases brought into their fold a group better prepared—educationally speaking—for cash money-making enterprises. In terms of neighborhood leadership the non-agricultural group would seem to be a group better prepared educationally to meet the problems of rural leadership, whereas the agricultural group in part is remedying this deficiency through closer touch with problems of production as they occur. The latter point loses much of its force, however, when it is remembered that almost three-fourths of the non-agricultural male leaders follow farming as a secondary occupation.

In a somewhat similar way, women in part make up for their lack of as great familiarity with everyday economic activities (outside the home) by the fact that they are a better educated group and thus presumably better equipped than men to deal with many problems. On the other hand, the men gain through a greater breadth of experience a degree of continuing education that is denied to those women whose experiences are more closely tied to fireside affairs.

¹ The median grades computed by the total rural-farm population of North Carolina, 20 years old and older, in 1940 were as follows: white males, 6.1; white females, 6.5; Negro males, 3.4; Negro females, 4.5. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Fourth Series.*

In the great discrepancy between white and Negro leaders, a serious point arises. The decidedly lesser educational achievement of the Negro leaders is a handicap in terms of leadership functioning that is only partly mitigated by the fact that the Negro groups whom the leaders serve are in turn of a lower educational status than the corresponding white groups.

In rounding out the picture of education and leadership, the degree of education of the various leadership groups was analysed in terms of age. The men and women, white and Negro, were divided into those under 30, 30 through 39, 40 through 49, and 50 years and over. Taking the entire group as a point of departure, the case becomes quite clear for the definite improvement in educational attainment as one passes from the older leaders to the younger ones. Whereas only one-fifth of the oldest group had completed high school, the proportion steadily increases until in the youngest group, almost three-fifths had completed the same degree of training. As compared with 1 out of 50 of the oldest group finishing college, the proportion increases in the next oldest group and then rises sharply until in the youngest group almost 10 per cent had completed college work.

The same results are found by sex and race. Apropos of the previous discussion of educational attainment of the Negro leaders, the rise in the educational status of the younger men and women is quite marked. At any level of educational status—grade school, high school, or college—there is a definite rise in the formalized training as the age group becomes younger. This is both a testimony to the increased educational status of Negro leadership and at the same time a promise of what the future holds in store in terms of a much higher degree of educational preparation for the job of leadership among Negroes or for that matter for either race and for both sexes of each race.

Attention has been directed to the educational preparation of these men and women because it is immediately obvious that one of the important factors in an adequately functioning rural leadership is this particular factor. This is truer today than ever before when the rural world finds itself affected and beset by problems that arise not only in particular neighborhoods but also have so developed and spread that some of them are world-wide in scope.

FACILITIES AND CONVENIENCES

In rural areas of North Carolina, conveniences of everyday living are by no means widely prevalent. Sometimes, as in the case of electricity, the convenience is beyond the scope of the individual family because it has not been made available in some areas. Quite often

it is a matter of transportation. More often it is a matter of not effectively desiring conveniences which have become necessities to the urban mind. Sometimes there is less apparent need. Sometimes it is a matter of just plain ignorance. Too often it is a matter of lacking the necessary money to buy an article the need for which may be evident. Philosophically, the real need for some conveniences may be open to question. In the present study, experience and trial studies dictated a list of conveniences, practically all of which would be deemed necessities in urban areas, either as household conveniences or as necessary modes of transportation and supply.

Communication conveniences take on a particular importance in terms of relations with the outside world and specifically in the functioning of the leaders in the particular activities of their neighborhood groups. An 84 per cent ownership of radios is quite satisfactory

TABLE 14. PERCENT OF LEADERS REPORTING SPECIFIED FACILITIES AND CONVENIENCES, BY RACE AND SEX

| Facilities and conveniences | Per cent reporting specified item | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|------|--------|
| | All leaders | White | Negro | Male | Female |
| Automobile | 65.3 | 68.4 | 56.7 | 64.0 | 66.8 |
| Truck | 21.4 | 26.5 | 7.1 | 22.4 | 20.4 |
| Telephone | 14.9 | 20.1 | .4 | 13.0 | 17.0 |
| Radio | 84.4 | 89.2 | 70.9 | 81.7 | 87.4 |
| Phonograph | 22.3 | 19.5 | 29.9 | 21.2 | 23.5 |
| Piano | 34.5 | 41.6 | 14.6 | 29.4 | 40.3 |
| Electricity | 46.7 | 56.3 | 19.7 | 43.0 | 50.9 |
| Mechanical refrigerator | 39.5 | 51.1 | 7.1 | 34.2 | 45.6 |
| Ice box | 24.8 | 18.3 | 43.3 | 23.5 | 26.3 |
| Pressure cooker | 24.4 | 27.1 | 16.9 | 22.8 | 26.3 |
| Water supply: | | | | | |
| Hand pump | 28.5 | 27.7 | 30.7 | 28.0 | 29.0 |
| Piped | 26.4 | 35.1 | 2.0 | 23.3 | 29.9 |
| Bathroom fixtures: | | | | | |
| Tub | 14.7 | 19.7 | .8 | 12.6 | 17.0 |
| Lavatory | 15.2 | 20.4 | .8 | 12.6 | 18.1 |
| Toilet | 16.0 | 21.2 | 1.6 | 14.2 | 18.1 |
| Screens | 82.2 | 91.0 | 57.5 | 80.7 | 83.8 |
| Daily paper | 52.1 | 63.5 | 20.1 | 50.0 | 54.4 |
| Weekly paper | 73.9 | 79.5 | 58.3 | 74.5 | 73.3 |
| Farm paper | 80.6 | 85.3 | 67.7 | 78.6 | 83.0 |
| One | 26.6 | 21.8 | 40.1 | 28.2 | 24.8 |
| Two | 28.6 | 31.2 | 21.7 | 28.4 | 29.1 |
| Three or more | 25.4 | 32.3 | 5.9 | 22.0 | 29.1 |

in comparison with the general population in rural areas (Table 14)²

² In 1940, 42.4 per cent of all rural-farm dwelling units in North Carolina had radios. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing.*

The radio had already demonstrated its usefulness not only in the usual channels of entertainment and instruction but also in providing specific stimuli in connection with many of the activities with which the neighborhood leaders have already concerned themselves. A goal of 100 per cent ownership of radios in rural areas is not too high. The white leaders in fact have already reached 89 per cent ownership of radios.

The figures for telephones are indicative of an important lack of communication. Only 20 per cent of the white leaders have telephones. Only one among all the Negro leaders possesses a telephone. In certain rural portions of the state telephone service is as yet virtually unobtainable. It is also true that the need for regular communication is less present in rural than in urban areas. The rural dweller, particularly the rural farm-dweller, is accustomed to less immediate relationships with other people than is the urban dweller. Yet telephone communication is increasing elsewhere in rural America.

The picture brightens again in the case of newspapers. Over half (52 per cent) of the total leaders take a daily newspaper. The discrepancy between white leaders and Negro leaders in this regard is marked. Whereas 64 per cent of the whites subscribe to a paper, only 20 per cent of the Negroes do so. This is a testimony of the lesser education and the greater poverty of the latter group. Rural people furthermore read weekly newspapers, some of which are local and some of which are much wider in scope. Almost three-fourths (74 per cent) of the entire group subscribe to at least one of these weekly papers. Four-fifths of the white leaders purchase a weekly paper. The Negro leaders make up in part for their lack of daily printed news by subscribing to a weekly newspaper in 58 per cent of the cases. The daily or weekly paper acts as a one-way communicating device (except for letters to the editor!) so far as most families are concerned. Yet the newspaper coupled nowadays with the radio is an important conveyor of news of general import as well as a specific source of information on a hundred and one items of interest to the farmer and his family.

As a factor in external stimuli which could be ascertained, the reading of farm papers is worth additional attention. Rural-nonfarm families in 67 per cent of the cases took farm papers. Farm families subscribed to these papers in 81 per cent of the cases. The farm paper is an important source of reading matter of many kinds to various members of farm families.

Furthermore if the subscriptions to farm papers are considered in

terms of the amount of land operated by the farmer leaders, there is a definite relationship between the percentage who take farm papers and size of farm. It goes further than this. There is a direct ratio between the number of acres operated and subscriptions to two or more farm papers. There is a relationship here between socio-economic status (signified by the number of acres operated) and interest as well as ability, both financially and literally, to obtain and read articles of direct interest to farmers and to the families of agricultural leaders.

There was the expected difference between white leaders and Negro leaders. White leaders subscribed to farm papers on an average of almost two per family. Negro leaders subscribed to an average of one per family. More than double the proportion of Negro leaders took no farm paper as compared with the white leaders. At the other end of the scale, the proportion of white leaders who subscribed to two or more farm papers more than doubled that of Negro leaders. The difference was expected because of the already observed advantages of the former group in economic, educational, and social status, all factors making for a differential in this regard. Farm papers do not cost much, reduced to cost per single copy, but the economic differential alone would help to explain much of the divergence. The greater educational equipment of the one group combined with more adequate social stimuli provides a further explanation.

In a different area there is the ownership of automobiles. Although the buying of automobiles has been encouraged in recent times, most farm leaders already owned their cars and they continue to function almost as well for shorter distances as they used to function for longer stretches. Sixty-five per cent of the leadership group owned automobiles. The figure also rises somewhat when white leaders alone are considered, 68 per cent of the whites as compared with 57 per cent of the Negro leaders owning their cars. The percentage is not as high as it should be from the standpoint of plane of living. Here the query might be raised as to the absolute necessity of an automobile in the fundamentals of rural living. So far as leaders are concerned, however, the automobile has already proved itself a useful adjunct to getting about and quite often as an aid in performing tasks associated with the actual functioning of leadership in operation. Furthermore, the automobile has established itself as a link with the world beyond the neighborhood.

Trucks which sometimes take the place of automobiles and sometimes function along with them are distinct aids to farming on any adequate scale as well as conveyors of people and hence as communicating devices. Only 21 per cent of the entire group, 27 per cent of the

whites and 7 per cent of the Negroes, owned trucks.

Electricity is a giant source of aid in modern living. Its benefits can be utilized both on the farm and in the farm home. So far its use has been largely limited to the latter. Until relatively recent years, electricity has been dominantly a city and town affair. Its rural use has greatly expanded, thanks largely to the development of rural electrification projects. Although less than half (47 per cent) of the entire group possess electricity,³ 56 per cent of the white leaders have electricity. Only one out of five of the Negroes has electricity in his home. Electricity today is more than a possible philosophical assumption of a plane of living. It is a distinct asset. Its lack among Negro leaders in particular is an indication of the uphill battle that they must still face in attaining a plane of living commensurate with the place to which a normal standard of living entitles them.

Turning to some of the more important physical conveniences in modern rural living, there is a series of devices used more or less in the homes of the neighborhood leaders. One-fourth of the leaders still have ice-boxes. Among the Negroes 43 per cent still rely upon them for the hit or miss refrigeration which they afford. At the time of the study, 40 per cent of the leaders had mechanical refrigeration in their homes. (The proportion will rapidly become higher with the electrification of rural areas.) The situation differs markedly between the leaders in the two races. Over half (51 per cent of the white leaders) have mechanical refrigeration. Only 7 per cent of the Negroes possess this valuable adjunct to modern living.

One of the more serious aspects of the refrigeration problem lies in the fact that so many of the leaders have no refrigeration of any sort, unless it be the haphazard utilization of a small stream or of a well! Thirty-one per cent of the white leaders and one-half of the Negro leaders lack either mechanical or non-mechanical refrigeration.⁴ For these people, nothing can be kept in warm weather that will spoil in a short time. The contribution to adequate living and particularly to adequate health that has been made by modern refrigeration is such that there is the hope that this lack can rapidly be overcome. It is one more reason why rural electrification on a complete scale is badly needed.

Because of its advantages in food preparation, the possession of

³ In 1940, 22.9 per cent of all rural-farm dwelling units in North Carolina had electric lighting equipment. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing.*

⁴ In 1940, 10.6 per cent of all rural-farm dwelling units in North Carolina had mechanical refrigeration; 19.8 per cent had some other refrigeration. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Housing.*

a pressure cooker makes a unique contribution to rural living. Almost one-fourth of the families of the leaders (24 per cent) own pressure cookers. Twenty-seven per cent of the white leaders and seventeen per cent of the Negro leaders own these cookers. The pressure cooker device is one that normally would be of more appeal to women than to men, since it is more within the domain of the woman's sphere of activity. There is a slightly greater degree of possession in the families of women leaders than in the families of the men leaders, whose wives would not form as select a group on the whole as would those who in addition to being the female head of a family would have had the energy and the sociability, as well as the capacity, to become leaders among their neighbors.

The water supply for rural homes is not the simple matter that it is in urban sections. The obtaining of water may range in terms of effort from crude forms of carrying it to the turning of a spigot to obtain a fresh supply. Twenty-six per cent of the leaders had piped water supplies; 29 per cent utilized the hand pump method. Almost half of the leaders still utilize a well or a spring (chiefly the former) as a means of supplying water. The figures for Negro leaders reveal the lack of adequate means of water supply under modern standards. Only 2 per cent had piped water. Thirty-one per cent used the hand pump, which left almost two-thirds of the group without any water supply except that obtainable from the well or sometimes the spring. The conditions are "old-time" rural and decidedly wanting in adequacy in terms of today.

The presence of sanitary fixtures in the modern urban home has rapidly assumed the status of a necessity. Yet these rural leaders are far down the scale in this regard. Only 21 per cent of the white leaders have an indoor toilet. Less than two per cent of the Negro leaders are so fortunate. For the whites, only one out of five have a lavatory; the same proportion have a bath tub. For the Negro leaders, only one out of a hundred have a lavatory and the same is true for the tub. Again there are certain assumptions connected with our culture that make modern washing facilities highly prized. The most serious item is the lack of the indoor toilet.

On the other hand screens have become regarded as a necessity, at first chiefly in the kitchen, and then spreading over the entire house. (A large proportion of rural houses are one-storied in these areas). Over nine-tenths (91 per cent) of the white leaders and almost three-fifths (58 per cent) of the Negro leaders have some screens on their homes.

Two types of conveniences were noted which depart from the main

thread of the discussion but may be included here. Thirty-five per cent of the leaders had pianos; twenty-two per cent owned phonographs. Phonographs were found more frequently in the homes of Negro leaders. Neither of these instruments may be considered on the same basis as the items previously discussed. Pianos conceivably might constitute an important single index of a higher standard of living. These pianos, however, are, unlike the previous items, largely "non-functioning." They are largely old and out of tune remnants of a previous generation or two that have been passed down. They seldom are used. Phonographs simply pre-date radios. They are not the modern phonograph-radio devices. (These were counted as radios.) They are the old and squeaky predecessors of the radio, maintained largely as a "parlor" ornament, because one hesitates, as in the case of the pianos, to dispose of them. Their prevalence is interesting but can not be considered in the same light, under the circumstances, as the other items listed in the discussion.

What of the overall picture of conveniences? In comparison with the general population, the picture is better than the average. In comparison with any proposed adequate plane of living, the picture is poor for the white leaders, taken as a whole, and deplorable for the great mass of Negro leaders. The point has already been made that the lack of some of these items is not quite the major tragedy that may be assumed by one used to the amenities of urbanized existence. Furthermore in urban areas, the lack of some of these items would be far more serious. Nevertheless, the advantages to comfort and health, on the one hand, and the stimuli to living and thinking, on the other, are such that it is hoped as well as expected that in the postwar days the development of living in rural regions in this part of the United States will carry with it most of these items, the possession of which would mean so much to the men, women, and children in these rural areas. Where the figures are low, it must be remembered, they are still lower for the rest of the populace, since the families studied are the leader families in these various neighborhoods. This fact makes the problem all the more serious.

This study is concerned primarily with the leaders, and here the problem is connected with the effect a lower plane of living will have on a system of rural neighborhood leadership. These conditions do not prevent men and women from being leaders and for that matter excellent leaders. Most of these conveniences were non-existent not too many years ago, and leadership has always been present where there was a sufficient number of like-minded people. Nevertheless, the original point still remains. The leaders in their functioning as

people and as leaders could function more favorably with more adequate home environments and the material conveniences here analysed are part and parcel of home environments.

There is furthermore another important consideration. It was beyond the scope of the present study to investigate quantitatively the movement of boys and girls from rural to urban areas. Yet, one of the factors in this migration is the less satisfying living conditions in rural homes, which is part of the picture making for dissatisfaction of farm boys and girls. Numerous studies have testified to the actuality of the social loss to rural life of young men and women leaving for urban areas. The lack of many of these conveniences in contrast to the possible presence of them in urban areas is a matter of concern to those who would retain more of the rural youth in their early environment. There is no doubt as to the seriousness of the children of leaders leaving. Potentially they are leaders. Any factor which helps produce the loss of such young people should be dealt with not only theoretically but also actually.

LEVEL OF LIVING

There are many ways of arriving at approximations of levels of living of leaders. Recently, rigorous measurements of levels of living have been made. The present study concerned itself only incidentally with this phase of social life since educational, economic, and other social factors were deemed more important for the purposes at hand. From the various items owned by the leaders, however, it was possible to construct a simplified scale of level of living. A simple addition of six items of importance to rural dwellers in North Carolina was made. These items were ownership of an automobile, possession of a truck, telephone, radio, electricity in the home, and piped water supply in the house. These six items, with the exception of a truck, are considered virtually as necessities in urbanized areas. In rural areas, taken as a group, they serve as one index of the level of living of rural families.

Knowledge of the areas studied would lead to the expectation of a higher level of living among white than Negro leaders. The average (mean) index for whites is 2.9 (Table 15). Forty-two per cent of the white leaders score two or less. On the other hand 37 per cent score four or more. There is a fairly symmetrical distribution of items, ranging from 21 per cent having two items, exactly the same proportion having three items and then the proportion declining as one goes up or down the index scale. One out of 20 of the white leaders possesses none of these items (an index of zero), counter- balanced

TABLE 15. LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX^a OF LEADERS, BY RACE AND SEX

| Level of living index | All leaders | Race | | Sex | |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| | | White | Negro | Male | Female |
| Total: | | | | | |
| Number | 966 | 712 | 254 | 514 | 452 |
| Per cent | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| None | 7.2 | 5.2 | 13.0 | 8.6 | 5.8 |
| One | 21.2 | 15.6 | 36.9 | 22.0 | 20.4 |
| Two | 24.7 | 21.2 | 34.3 | 26.2 | 22.7 |
| Three | 19.0 | 21.2 | 13.0 | 17.5 | 20.8 |
| Four | 13.4 | 17.1 | 2.8 | 13.4 | 13.3 |
| Five | 10.5 | 14.2 | — | 8.6 | 12.6 |
| Six | 4.0 | 5.5 | — | 3.7 | 4.4 |
| Mean | 2.6 | 2.9 | 1.6 | 2.5 | 2.7 |

^a Includes ownership of an automobile, possession of a truck, telephone, radio, electricity in the home, and piped water supply in the house.

by an almost equal proportion having all six of these items (those having an index of six).

The level of living indices of Negro leaders bring into sharp focus the contrast between the two groups so far as these items are illustrative of levels of living. In contrast to a mean average index of 2.9 for the white leaders, the average for the Negro leaders was 1.6. The proportion of Negro leaders scoring zero was two and one-half times that of the white leaders. One-half of the Negro leaders had only one or none of these items. Less than 3 per cent had as many as four items and not a single Negro leader had more than four items. The items constituting the index are not for the rank and file of Negro families. They are not even for the leaders!

Two extenuating circumstances may be pointed out. The men and women whose level of living is under analysis live in rural areas. For some, the items are unavailable in their area. For example, rural electrification, rapidly expanding, has yet to reach into many sections of the areas studied. The second involves a philosophy of living which does not necessarily regard the possession of all of these items as a *sine qua non* of living. Any rurally minded man will agree that there are advantages in rural (as contrasted with urban) living which more than outweigh the so-called conveniences of urban living. All this is probably true. Yet in this day and age of interdependence and intercommunication, families which lack any one of these items are handicapped. The leaders are particularly handicapped in that their level of living helps or hinders their leadership behavior. Particularly in the communication items, such as the automobile, is this so.

A rural, stabilized state, such as the one under consideration, has definite advantages from the standpoint of a regularly functioning leadership. One of the disadvantages, however, is revealed in relatively low planes of living, of which the results of this simple index are indicative. If regarded as symptomatic of levels of living in general, and with the reservation that the simpler modes of living are attuned to a less complex type of life, these levels need to be raised. A leadership emanating from a low plane of living is nothing new. But here it is found as a widespread phenomenon among people who are not the great leaders of history. They are leaders in the calmer, more humble, everyday world of the common man in his rural neighborhood. As such their outlook and their consequent leadership are affected by low or even medium planes of living. As has been seen, the situation is more widespread among the Negro than the white leaders. In their long march toward a higher economic and social plane, their levels of living and their general outlook concomitantly have risen and will continue to rise. In the meantime, for a large proportion of these Negro leaders (and not a few of the white leaders) their more effective functioning in a democracy will continue to be affected until such time as the great majority attain a plane of living more commensurate with their leadership status.

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Since leaders participate in the life of the neighborhood and community, it is to be expected that they will belong to the organizations found in the community or neighborhood to the extent that their education and general level of living are conducive to such membership.

For rural folk, the church is by far the most important adult organization in which people participate to any great degree. Ninety-six per cent of all the leaders are affiliated with some church organization (Table 16). Sixty-four per cent are members or teachers of a Sunday School class. In this regard, their older ages make this percentage the more impressive. Eighteen per cent belong to missionary societies within the church. Two per cent still are affiliated with the young people's organizations in the church. There are variations as usual between the sexes and races. Ninety-eight per cent of all the women (as compared with 94 per cent of the men) belong to a definite church organization. Somewhat more women than men belong to a Sunday School, but the difference is not significant. Thirty-eight per cent of the women belong to missionary societies.

As leaders in one field, to what degree are the leaders in the religious field? Almost one out of three (31 per cent) of the church

TABLE 16. ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF LEADERS, BY RACE AND SEX

| Organization | Per cent reporting specified organizational affiliations | | | | |
|--|--|-------|-------|------|--------|
| | All leaders | Race | | Sex | |
| | | White | Negro | Male | Female |
| Religious organizations: | | | | | |
| Church | 95.8 | 94.5 | 99.2 | 93.6 | 98.2 |
| Sunday School | 63.9 | 59.7 | 75.6 | 62.8 | 65.0 |
| Missionary society | 17.9 | 17.4 | 19.3 | — | 38.3 |
| Young people's organization | 2.4 | 2.1 | 3.1 | 1.4 | 3.5 |
| Political party | 64.7 | 82.4 | 15.0 | 64.8 | 64.6 |
| Cooperatives: | | | | | |
| FCX | 9.5 | 12.8 | .4 | 12.3 | 6.4 |
| N. C. Cotton Grow- ers Cooperative Association | 5.0 | 4.6 | 5.9 | 6.8 | 2.9 |
| Farmers Federation | 4.8 | 6.5 | — | 8.4 | .7 |
| Farm organizations and committees: | | | | | |
| Grange | 5.0 | 6.6 | .4 | 6.2 | 3.5 |
| Farm Bureau | 5.3 | 7.0 | .4 | 8.7 | 1.5 |
| AAA Committee | 10.7 | 14.0 | 1.2 | 19.3 | .9 |
| FSA Committee | 1.2 | 1.7 | — | 1.9 | .4 |
| Home Demonstra- tion Club | 24.3 | 28.0 | 13.8 | — | 50.2 |
| 4-H Club | 1.0 | .3 | 3.1 | .2 | 2.0 |
| Farmers' service club | 2.4 | .4 | 7.9 | 1.6 | 3.3 |
| PTA | 24.7 | 16.0 | 49.2 | 23.0 | 26.8 |
| Fraternal organizations | 7.2 | 7.3 | 7.1 | 12.0 | 1.8 |
| American Legion | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.2 | 2.5 | .2 |

members held some office in their church organization at the time of the survey. Over two-fifths (42 per cent) held some office in the Sunday School. A somewhat higher proportion (45 per cent of the women) held offices in missionary societies, and three-fifths (61 per cent) of those affiliated with young people's organizations held some office in their group.

When it comes to religious affiliations, there might well be differences between the races. To what degree does this extend to people who are leaders in rural neighborhoods? Negroes belong to a greater degree than whites to all four of the religious organizations studied. While the differences are not statistically significant (using the Chi-square test) for any individual organization, the preponderance in

favor of the Negro group in each case leads to the assumption that where larger numbers used the difference would be as statistically significant as it is logically so.

The proportion of members of each race who are also leaders in church organizations is illuminating. Almost one-fourth (24 per cent) of the whites who belong to a church organization are officers in that organization. Almost one-half (49 per cent) of the Negroes are in that category. The greater proportion of Negro neighborhood leaders in the church who are also leaders in their church groups holds also for Sunday School, missionary societies, and young people's organizations.

This fundamental difference in a social aspect of life is in contrast to the economic aspects previously discussed. Why does this differential in favor of the Negro leaders exist? For the rural Negro, the church life plays a fundamental part. It is not merely a matter of religion, although that is vitally important. It is not only a matter of the social life connected with the religious group with which he or she is affiliated, important as that is. For the rural Negro the cultural pattern of church affiliation and attendance has become a fundamental habit in the personality of the individual. It is a part of his or her normal activity and thinking. In maintaining normal social relationships the church, along with the family and (for the younger people) the school, plays an all important role in the neighborhoods and communities of which it is a part, or from which it draws its support.

Since the church is an institution which has so large a membership, it follows that in the functioning of leadership it may play an integral part. Neighborhood leadership in large measure functions through specific contacts and relationships between and among people. The rural church is, in addition to being a place of worship, a place where people who are likeminded in at least that one aspect meet. The likemindedness flows into other channels in addition to the religious one. Agricultural problems, home problems, neighborhood or county elections are a few of the types of social areas where minds meet. In addition, the church is an important source of social contacts between people who may not see each other all week, but who maintain regular contacts at the Sunday meetings, and, to the extent that it is prevalent, at the midweek prayer service. In the light of this, the church should become an integral part in the thinking of those who have to do with leadership in the rural field on the neighborhood plane.

In the life of rural people other organizations also play important parts. Education has been analysed, but at this point it is well to dis-

cuss the school as a point of contact, much as the church has been so noted. School buildings are being used more and more as places of neighborhood meetings, where some issue of importance to the neighborhood families may be discussed. In the interrelationships among leader as well as other families there is often the common background of earlier attendance at the same school on the part of persons in a particular neighborhood. This broadens into common interests as parents of children who are now attending the same schools. The interest of leaders, men and women, is focussed in the school with its numerous major and minor problems, successes and failures. It is a tie that binds people together and acts as an aid to neighborhood leadership which is so much a matter of human interrelationships between leaders and followers.

So far as school attendance by the children of leaders is concerned, the affiliation is almost 100 per cent while the children are young. As they grow older and finally cease formal education, the interest still remains in terms of group loyalty to the scenes of an important aspect of childhood and adolescence. This carries over into marriage and parenthood, when a new cycle begins.

Rural parents tend to be associated with the rural school through parent-teacher associations. Among the neighborhood leaders studied, one-fourth belonged to this organization at the time the study was made. Women belonged to a greater extent than men (27 per cent and 23 per cent respectively). There is a significant difference between Negro and white leaders in this respect. Almost one-half of the Negro leaders (49 per cent) as compared with somewhat less than one-sixth of the white leaders (16 per cent) are members of the parent-teacher associations connected with their schools. There is no significant difference between the sexes in the Negro group, although women leaders are slightly in the lead in this respect. Among the white leaders, however, the women are represented almost twice as frequently as the men in this organization.

Such are the facts. More importantly, what lies behind these facts? Much of the explanation is associated with the point that this is a study of leaders. The Negro leaders are not only a select group. They belong to a group with relatively fewer opportunities for belonging to outside organizations than do white leaders. Furthermore, the opportunity to obtain an adequate education is still so new and looms so importantly in their eyes that the Negro leaders take seriously the opportunity of participation in this link between the school and family. The white leaders have more diversified interests and take less seriously the opportunity of belonging to this organization. This

is evidenced in part by the greater interest shown by women than by men, who among whites tend to leave such matters as parent-teacher relationships to the maternal side of the family.

The greater interest of Negro leaders in the parent-teacher organization is further seen in the fact that one-fourth of the leaders hold an office in the organization, compared with one-tenth of the white leaders holding similar positions in the corresponding white organization.

Another type of organizational affiliation is found in the Grange and the Farm Bureau which play active parts in the area studied. The proportion of leaders who belong to these organizations is not large; 7 per cent of the whites belong to the Farm Bureau with the same proportion found in the Grange. Less than 1 per cent of the Negro leaders belong to either organization. If white men only are considered, the proportion rises to one out of eight and one out of every 12 for the respective organizations. These organizations are devoted to the interests of farmers. The proportion of white leaders who belong to them being only fair, there remains a fertile field for these units in extending their membership so as to include a large proportion of the neighborhood leaders.

One important functional sign of leadership ability was found among those neighborhood leaders who were also members of the AAA committees. In each county of the state, AAA committees have been elected. The work of these committees has proved to be of tremendous value to rural life, and their personnel therefore is of great importance. On the whole it consists of outstanding rural people or of town people who participate in rural and agricultural life. By the functional criterion of leadership used in this study, these men and occasional women are definitely leaders on the county level.

One out of every 11 neighborhood leaders was also an AAA committee member. Three of the Negro men were AAA committee members. No Negro woman and only four white women were members of this group. On the other hand 27 per cent of the white male leaders were also members of the AAA committees. These neighborhood leaders are from a select group. They have a unique opportunity in functioning on the neighborhood, the community, and the county level, and through their connections in the larger field, they come in contact with leaders and movements on a still broader scale. They form a link in the chain of leaders who are to be found on the various levels of rural (or non-rural) activity.⁵ It was found that over three-fifths (62

⁵ The use of the word levels is not to imply that one level is necessarily higher or lower than another level. The fields of operation differ in breadth and channeling.

per cent) of the members of the AAA committees are officers in these committees, a further evidence of social activity.

The most important organization for women only in the rural areas is the Home Demonstration Club. It has so successfully functioned throughout the state that it has constantly increased its number of local clubs and of individual members. The Home Demonstration Club meetings in actual practice present opportunities of "socializing" and of specific contacts which tie in well with the operation of neighborhood leadership. Existing organizations which can be utilized as a means of social interaction are important in the functioning of rural leadership. Fifty-five per cent of the white women leaders and 33 per cent of the Negro women leaders were members of Home Demonstration Clubs when their counties were surveyed. It is no accident that so high a percentage of women are both leaders and members of Home Demonstration Clubs. Furthermore, 29 per cent of the white members and 47 per cent of the Negro members are officers in their clubs, an additional fact pointing to the leadership functioning of the women leaders.

The group meetings and the group relationships, and above all the position of the leaders in their groups, give to these women of either race an unique opportunity to the extent that their neighbors are members and participants in the Home Demonstration Clubs of their neighborhoods. Even at the present time, partly as one result of conferences arising from the study, and due even more to the vision of those who are in positions of leadership in the Home Demonstration Club organization itself, the scope of these clubs is being widened in the effort to embrace as large a proportion of the white and colored women of the state as possible.

Turning to the cooperative organizations, a fair proportion of the white male leaders are found to have memberships. Eighteen per cent of the white male leaders belong to the Farmers Cooperative Exchange; 12 per cent belong to the Farmers Federation; and 6 per cent are members of the N. C. Cotton Growers Cooperative Association. However, these figures hide the true story, since cotton is relatively scarce in the western region. Moreover, the Farmers Cooperative Exchange does not operate in the mountain area, while the Farmers Federation operates primarily in that area. When the county in which the Cotton Growers Cooperative Association does not operate is excluded, the percentage of white male leaders who are members rises to 9 per cent. The percentage of FCX members, with this county excluded, rises to 26 per cent. On the other hand, 35 per cent of all the leaders in the mountain county belong to the Farmers Federation. The only cooperative organization in which Negro leaders are found

to any great degree is the Cotton Growers Cooperative. Over 8 per cent of the colored male leaders belong to this Cooperative (again the mountain area was excluded), a figure comparable with the 9 per cent for the white leaders.

In all, over one-third (35 per cent) of the white male leaders belong to at least one cooperative, as compared with one out of 12 of the Negro leaders. The difference is significant statistically and sociologically. It reflects in another way the economic and social advantages of the one group, an advantage which can be translated into a more adequate type of leadership activity.

The proportion belonging to fraternal organizations among the leaders is not large. Fifteen per cent of the white men, as compared with 8 per cent of the Negro men, belonged to at least one fraternal organization. Few white women (1 per cent) and a larger proportion of Negro women (4 per cent) belonged to fraternal organizations. The more important distinction lies in the patterns of behavior of the two races. Among the whites, fraternal organizations are more a matter for men. Among the Negroes, there is less sex differentiation in "joining lodges". Among rural leaders of both races, there is relative lack of membership in organizations of a fraternal-social nature. There is not much interest on the part of these leaders in them, the general consensus being that they may be all right for urban people but that rural folk have little need or use for such organizations, or at least no needs that other existing organizations cannot meet. Even in these organizations, however, the degree of leadership is evidenced in the fact that 17 per cent of the white men and 36 per cent of the Negro men hold offices in their particular fraternal organizations.

There is a scattering participation in other organizations, but the numbers involved are too few to be of importance. In general there is a picture of fairly adequate organizational affiliation among the white leaders and less adequate affiliation among the Negro leaders, except in religious organizations. Women leaders of both races are affiliated primarily with the church and the Home Demonstration Clubs. In the light of their family duties and the pattern of behavior for women, this is quite explainable. Organizational affiliation and activity assume importance in the analysis of leadership behavior because leaders operate in a matrix of social relationships, and organizational affiliations give these leaders opportunity for social contact, social broadening, and the furthering, consciously or unconsciously, of their leadership activities through influencing the behavior of others.

PART III

Comparison of Leaders and Their Groups

CHAPTER 10

The Leaders and Their Groups

No discussion of leadership is complete without an analysis of those who form the group from which the leadership is derived. The earlier studies of leadership were prone to neglect the fact that leadership does not exist in a vacuum. It is part and parcel of a group of interacting personalities. A is not simply a leader, with B, C and D automatons who react to specific signals. A is a personality, and so are B and C and D. A's leadership status in the group containing B, C, and D is a matter of interaction among all four. A does happen to be the leader because of good and sufficient reasons if he is a true leader. His leadership always implies followship, much as in psychological phraseology, a stimulus implies a response; otherwise no stimulus has existed functionally. Because of this some of the relationships between the leader and his group have been noted in addition to the characteristics surrounding the phenomenon of leadership itself.

Another step remains to be taken. Just as leadership is fundamentally tied up with "followship," and in fact because of this, the type of "followship" in its way is as important as the leadership. Not only does neighborhood leadership largely develop from the neighborhood group. Also, success of the leader in getting things done is dependent to an important degree upon that leader. This has been implied in the analysis of the results thus far obtained in the study. The further important point here is that results depend not only upon the leader but also upon the members of his group. The leader, man or woman, white or colored, can only work with and through the human material, so to speak, that is at hand. Consequently, the status of his group, the social and economic levels of the people who compose it, their attitudes and ways of behavior are all important from the standpoint of the things to be achieved. The significance of the personal qualities and background of the leader cannot be overestimated. Just so, the importance of the personal attitudes and backgrounds of the members of his group must be taken into full consideration in any analysis of the practical operations of leadership.

COMPOSITION OF LEADER'S GROUP

Of the 966 persons who operated as leaders, 918 or 95 per cent were found to have had sufficient interest and opportunity to function actively as neighborhood leaders. Some of the remaining 5 per cent

could function quite well with more adequate training and explanation of the purposes and functioning of the neighborhood leadership system of interrelationships. For the purposes of this section of the study, however, they had to be eliminated from consideration.

Of the total leaders 74 per cent were whites. This corresponds fairly closely with the percentages of whites in the rural population, which in 1940 reached 68.9 per cent in the rural areas studied.

The white leaders averaged 11.3 families in their groups. About two-thirds (66 per cent) of the groups consisted of white families only; another one per cent consisted of Negro families only; while the remaining third consisted of mixed groups of white and Negro families. White women leaders were somewhat more likely to have racially mixed groups than the men, but the difference was found to be of no statistical significance.

Among the Negro leaders the men clearly predominated. Out of a total of 254 leaders, 158 or 62 per cent were men. This was due to the fact that there were four counties which had colored farm agents while there were only two counties which possessed colored home agents. In the early days of the neighborhood leadership system, the leaders were largely obtained on a voting or selection basis with the sex of the leader to be chosen usually agreed upon beforehand in a conference between the particular county agent involved and the interested neighborhood group. In the beginning, since more of the county agent's work has to do with men, there was a definite tendency to obtain a preponderance of men leaders. To the extent that selection of leaders continues, it calls for the more equal distribution of leadership among women and men, since it was quickly found in virtually all the neighborhoods visited that there was definite need for leadership not only as such but also on the basis of a sex division. While there are spheres in our society in which men operate more efficiently than women, the opposite is just as true. It is equally true that there are many fields in which an outstanding person of either sex might well operate in a leadership capacity.

The practice was to seek Negro leaders in those neighborhoods which are entirely Negro or almost entirely Negro in their composition. Where the neighborhoods are composed of white and colored families white leaders are chosen, in line with the prevailing patterns of white-Negro relationships in the South.

The Negro leaders averaged 7.5 families per group with the women having slightly larger groups than the men. This happened to be true of the white leaders, also, but in both cases the average differences in number were too small to be considered of significance.

Th smaller number of families per Negro leader is due primarily to the fact that the neighborhood groupings of Negroes are smaller on the average than those of white families. As will be noted below, the smaller number is of decided advantage to a leader and to his qualitative work in accomplishing desired results.

The average (median) number of families per leader, including both white and Negro leaders, was 10.3. This figure coincides with what is probably a fair number of families which an average leader may be expected to contact under normal circumstances. A range of from six to 15 may be suggested as the limits within which most "loads" should fall. Only 15 per cent of the leaders had over 15 families in their group; 10 per cent had more than 20 families. These figures must be viewed with some caution, as in some cases all the families may not have been noted in the leaders' lists. On the other hand, the families listed probably represented the maximum serviced.

In the technique of leader-group relationships involving specific projects, the number of families in the group assumes an important place. If there are too few families in the group, insufficient use of the leader's ability has been made. Furthermore, the fewer the number in a group, the less select the leadership becomes. On the other hand, there are still more objections to too large a group. Neighborhood leaders give of their time and energy. They are volunteers, so to speak, and receive no financial remuneration. At times, the leaders, particularly the men, give their working time to further a particular plan or project or to disseminate information. They should not be expected to contact too many families. Nor can they do a good job if their efforts are expended among too many families. Sometimes this has taken the form of inadequately reaching all the families in a group; sometimes it has been at the expense of not reaching all the families in connection with some specific project.

One cannot be so dogmatic as to say, "the number should be ten." Circumstances alter cases, particularly cases like these, where there is no paid organization of leaders, and where the organization itself is carefully guarded so that it never shall become an institutionalized organization with definitely worked out systems and channels of reaching out to the last man from the top of the organization.

There are certain factors which in actuality have been found to affect the number of families a leader may contact with sufficient regularity and with adequate time to do a good job. Where the neighborhood is a compact one, often rural-nonfarm in part, the number of families in the group may well be larger than the average. Contrariwise, where the distances are fairly great and the roads

poor, the number may well be lessened. The time available to the leader and the extent of the leader's fundamental interest in the general philosophy and practice of either leadership or projects undertaken, or better still both, are important factors. Above all, there is the ability of the leader. This implies not only mentality but also knowledge and the capacity to influence people to do things. Education counts for much in actual practice. Finally, the type of group that one works with is of importance. In some counties, both within and outside of the areas investigated, large numbers have been allotted to a particular person, such as a storekeeper, who sees many people. Here again, the matter of complete contact with all the families, not just those one happens to meet, is the important point. It is quite possible that, where group meetings have proved satisfactory and largely attended, the number of families serviced may be above what would be a desirable average number.

On the whole, a number not too much below or above 10 seems most satisfactory, and only in extreme cases would more than 15 be considered as not "thinning out" too much the work which even a good leader might accomplish in the development of projects and programs which can utilize the leader-group relationships in specific enterprises. These figures can be used as norms and can be applied to various parts of the country in terms of their particular conditions. For example, the wide areas of the western states involve a different set of problems from the more closely settled "rurban" areas that in many ways are as much urban as rural, and where 10 neighbors may be little more than a stone's throw away, if heaved, it may be admitted, by a sufficiently strong arm.

LENGTH OF ACQUAINTANCE

One of the factors which provides the basis for a well-knit system of group relationships is the length of acquaintanceship of the various members of that group. It is one index of the strength of neighborhood ties. In fact, if duration of acquaintance were the sole criterion of the adequacy of a good neighborhood leadership system, there would be little cause for proceeding further in the analysis.

There were only three out of more than 9,000 families with whom the respective leaders were unacquainted. All three were newcomers. In considering each racial group separately, 99 per cent of the family heads had been known by the white leaders for a year or more; over nine-tenths (91 per cent) had been known for five or more years. No fewer than 83 per cent had been known by the neighborhood leaders for 10 years or more. In fact the great majority of the heads of families had been known by the leaders since childhood.

The same general picture was true of the Negro leaders and their groups. Among them, 99 per cent had been known by the leader for a year or more. Eighty-seven per cent had been known for five or more years. Seventy-seven per cent had been known by the neighborhood leader for 10 or more years, with most of them having been friends and acquaintances since childhood. The somewhat lesser average length of acquaintanceship among the Negroes is due to the fact that the Negroes are more mobile than the white families.

These long years of acquaintance in peaceful, rural environments is an indication of the stability of rural life in good times as well as in times of stress and strain. The basis had been laid for a functional system of neighborhood relationships on a leader-group basis long before its possible use to society in war and in peace was envisioned. Such long-time acquaintance has proved to be a real asset.



CHAPTER 11

Comparative Characteristics of Leaders and Groups

In any detailed analysis of leaders and their groups the question of their likenesses and differences in personal characteristics inevitably arises. In the present study some knowledge of comparative characteristics is basic to a full understanding of the way in which the neighborhood leadership program is operating.

AGE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEADERS AND THEIR GROUPS

Previous analysis has shown that an important proportion of the leaders are neither particularly young nor particularly old, that they are men and women who have achieved maturity and sufficient years of experience to have proved their leadership capacities. On the average they are quite active and have in few cases reached the status of inactivity in social relationships that often accompanies the later years of life.

Now the question arises, are there any relationships between the ages of the leaders and those of their neighbors? For this purpose, the ages of the male leaders of each race were compared with the ages of the male heads of families of the same racial group.

The average (median) age of all white male leaders was 51 years ;

the average (median) age of all white male heads of families in their groups was 48 years. The figures thus show a slight but statistically unimportant difference in favor of older ages for the leaders.

The relative distribution of the ages of the leaders in comparison with that of the non-leaders should be more illuminating. Naturally where leaders are younger, the average age of the corresponding non-leaders would tend to be older. Where leaders are old, the average age of their group would tend to be younger. The neglect of this type of relative distribution often leads to an artificial mathematical picture when averages only are given.

For purposes of analysis the leaders have been classified into nine age groups, the "young" group being under 30 years of age, the oldest group being those 65 years of age and older (Table 17).

TABLE 17. AGE OF MALE LEADERS AND OF MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES, BY RACE

| Age in years | White | | Negro | |
|--------------|---------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|
| | Leaders | Heads of families | Leaders | Heads of families |
| Total: | | | | |
| Number | 356 | 2,895 | 158 | 979 |
| Per cent | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Under 30 | 4.3 | 9.3 | 1.3 | 15.7 |
| 30-34 | 5.1 | 9.9 | 5.1 | 11.2 |
| 35-39 | 7.0 | 11.2 | 10.1 | 10.3 |
| 40-44 | 14.3 | 12.1 | 10.8 | 10.4 |
| 45-49 | 14.0 | 12.2 | 17.6 | 11.2 |
| 50-54 | 17.7 | 12.7 | 16.5 | 12.5 |
| 55-59 | 14.6 | 9.3 | 19.5 | 10.1 |
| 60-64 | 10.1 | 9.4 | 7.6 | 7.5 |
| 65 and over | 12.9 | 13.9 | 11.5 | 11.1 |
| Median age | 51.5 | 48.1 | 51.5 | 46.0 |

Comprising the youngest group, there are 15 white male leaders from 20 through 29 years of age. They had 131 white families in their group who possessed a male "head".¹ The comparative youthfulness of the leaders becomes evident when it is noted that none of the heads of families of the non-leader group were under 20 years of age and that 90 per cent of the non-leader group were 30 years of age and over.

For the entire group of white male leaders and non-leaders, a

¹ Omitted from the calculation were fatherless families with a grown older son recognized as the head and those few households of elderly women who lived by themselves.

larger percentage of leaders fall within the older ages than the members of their groups. This corroborates the conclusion that age brings experience and with it acceptance and functioning leadership. Yet since these leaders are a select group by virtue of the comparative positions they have attained, it is not surprising that an important percentage are relatively younger than the men whom they represent. This is another way of saying that while evidently age is a factor in attaining the position of neighborhood leadership, it is not the only factor and that, furthermore, these presumably personal factors may often supersede older age in determining choice as leaders of their neighbors.

The comparative situation in regard to the Negro families may be analyzed. Again, for logical reasons, the ages of Negro male leaders were compared with those of the Negro male heads of families. While the average (median) age of all Negro male leaders was 52 years, the average (median) age of the corresponding male non-leader group was 46 years. In analyzing the relative age distributions of leaders and their non-leader groups the same phenomenon for the younger Negro leaders appears at the outset, but the shift to the older leaders is earlier than in the case of the white leaders. The conclusion after a careful analysis of the data is that the picture for the Negro leadership is much the same as for the white leadership, except for this one important particular. Both groups lean to leaders on the average somewhat older than the average member of the non-leader groups. Both leadership groups have a wide age variation and consequently an important percentage of leaders younger than the average of their corresponding neighborhood groups. The Negro leaders are older than the white leaders in the same relative age relationship with their families.

In the light of circumstances, this is explainable. The great proportion of adult rural Negroes are but two generations removed from slavery. Slowly but surely they are developing to where the great mass has become economically self-sufficient. Leadership emerges in any group but in a group rural, poor, little educated, little advanced agriculturally, feeling its way through the folkways of the dominant white group, leadership takes more years of development before its acceptance by the Negro group or, for that matter, by the white group. These Negro leaders have developed largely within and have been selected from primarily Negro neighborhoods and their path to accepted leadership has generally been a sterner one than that of the white leaders. Under these circumstances, it is to be expected that a little more "aging" is required—unconsciously perhaps—of the Negro leaders.

EDUCATION OF LEADERS AND THEIR GROUPS

The development of the economic and social life of the South reflects the emphasis upon formal education. Poverty-stricken as a result of the war of 1861-1865, the southern states in recent years have spent a larger proportion of their income for purposes of formal education than the average for the United States as a whole. The result is now beginning to become apparent in rural as well as urban districts. In North Carolina, a system of state support of local schools is functioning excellently. It is of most benefit to those rural localities which lack the financial ability and sometimes the will to develop their school systems to a level deemed adequate in terms of today. This system and the general advancement of education are now beginning to pay dividends in the present generation.

Previous studies of leaders in wider spheres than that of the neighborhood have attested to the fact that leading men and women are decidedly above the average in educational equipment and attainment. It remains to be seen to what degree a relatively greater amount of education is found among the leaders than the groups of which they are a part.

The comparative education of leaders and non-leaders was analyzed in terms of race and sex. The average (mean) education achieved by the white male leaders was 8.2 grades, while the white male heads of families in their groups averaged 6.4 grades.² Offhand, the education of the male white leaders would seem to be superior to that of the corresponding group of non-leaders. Where valid, a further analysis was made of the various degrees of education achieved by the leaders and by the men in their groups.

While two per cent of the white leaders had finished college (Table 13, p. 70), less than one per cent of the men in their groups had had this much education. Almost a fourth (24 per cent) of the white male leaders had finished high school as compared with 10 per cent of the non-leaders. Three-fourths (75 per cent) of the leaders had completed grade school as compared with only 45 per cent of the non-leaders.

The comparative picture for the white women leaders and non-leaders is fundamentally the same. Eight per cent of the women leaders were college graduates, as compared with two per cent of the non-leader group. Almost half of the leaders (48 per cent) had com-

² Average (mean) grades completed were as follows:

| | Leaders | Heads of Families |
|--------------|---------|-------------------|
| White male | 8.2 | 6.4 |
| White female | 10.2 | 7.5 |
| Negro male | 5.4 | 4.1 |
| Negro female | 7.6 | 4.9 |

pleted high school in contrast to 22 per cent of the non-leader group. Ninety-four per cent of the white women leaders as compared with 56 per cent of the non-leaders had finished grade school. Thus, the comparative picture for the men and for the women is essentially similar.

The relative education of leaders and non-leaders in the Negro group shows the same comparative picture. Two per cent of the Negro male leaders had completed college; an additional three per cent had had some college training. None of the Negro male non-leaders in their groups had completed college. Only four non-leaders had had any college work. One-third (34 per cent) of the Negro male leaders had completed grade school, as compared with 11 per cent of the comparable non-leader group. Among the corresponding groups of women, the story is the same. Three per cent of the Negro women leaders were college graduates; an additional six per cent had received some college training. Only four of the non-leaders had attended college, one of them being graduated. At the other end of the scale, 63 per cent of the women leaders had completed grade school, as compared with 19 per cent of the non-leaders.

Thus the discrepancy between the educational attainments of the leaders and the members of their groups becomes obvious. This, of course, does not mean that the leader in each group is superior in educational attainment to all the members of his group. In a large proportion of cases, however, the corresponding groups of non-leaders have less education than the leaders of their groups. In testing this for the white male groups, it was found that, except for those few leaders who had virtually no education, the great majority of leaders had more education than the non-leaders in their specific groups (Table 18). The same relationship exists for the groups of white women and for both men and women of the Negro groups.

It is no surprise perhaps to find these educational differences between leaders and others. It does bring to the fore further aspects of the development of leadership and the relationships existing between these men and women and the corresponding groups of non-leaders. The higher educational attainment of the leaders in itself is another sign of leadership status in the several neighborhoods and communities. It means that their participation in specific programs and projects should be on a more understanding level than their neighbors in regard to the objects and reasons for these projects.

On the other hand, the amount of variation among both leaders and non-leaders poses other problems. Matters of information and procedure ideally would be presented on various educational levels.

TABLE 18. EDUCATION OF WHITE MALE LEADERS AS COMPARED WITH EDUCATION OF WHITE MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES

| Last grade completed by white male leaders | White male leaders | | Education of white male heads of families | | | | |
|--|--------------------|----------|---|----------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Number | Per cent | Total | | Less education than leader | Same education as leader | More education than leader |
| | | | Number | Per cent | | | |
| Total | 354 | 100.0 | 2,808 | 100.0 | 60.8 | 24.6 | 14.6 |
| None | 3 | .8 | 32 | 100.0 | — | 18.8 | 81.2 |
| Some grade school | 85 | 24.0 | 583 | 100.0 | 5.3 | 66.1 | 28.6 |
| Completed grade school | 76 | 21.5 | 634 | 100.0 | 58.8 | 24.6 | 16.6 |
| Some high school | 107 | 30.2 | 881 | 100.0 | 77.3 | 12.0 | 10.7 |
| Completed high school | 42 | 11.9 | 391 | 100.0 | 88.0 | 8.4 | 3.6 |
| Some college | 33 | 9.3 | 242 | 100.0 | 96.7 | 2.1 | 1.2 |
| Completed college ^a | 8 | 2.3 | 45 | 100.0 | 100.0 | — | — |

^a One reported graduate work.

In practice, this is impossible, except in the individual conferences and talks, which is one point in favor of such procedures. As a result methods of presentation are more effective with some families than others, depending upon the educational level attained.

The Changing Situation with Regard to Education. One of the important factors in the successful operation of a continuing series of adequate leader-group relationships is the status of the group with which the leader deals. The degree of education of the leaders is higher than that of the heads of families and that, furthermore, the latter group has a considerable way to go even to attain average completion of grade school. A measure of the progress along this line can be obtained by comparing the degree of education attained by the various age groups. As usual, because of the factors which differentially influence their educational attainment, each race was considered separately, and men and women were analyzed separately within each racial group.

The advance in educational achievement of heads of families in the leaders' groups as one goes from the older to the younger groups is striking. For example, in examining the data for the whites, the proportion completing high school is found steadily to increase as the family heads become younger. This is true of both men and women. In the Negro group the same gradations are found.

Other measures of the change in the educational situation are found

in the relative percentages who are presumed to be illiterate—those who are reported as having had no education. The difference between the percentage of those in the youngest and the oldest groups who have had no education is taken as this measure. Among the white men, the range is 5 per cent; among the white women, it is 3 per cent. For the Negro men, the range is 23 per cent; for the Negro women, it is 32 per cent. These figures testify to the gradual change in the education of Negro men and women. This refers to the lowest common denominator, so to speak. Yet illiteracy is not only an important educational index but is also correlated with various other social factors.³

At the higher end of the educational ladder, it is important to note that the proportion of Negro heads of families who were college graduates was almost zero, only one man and four women having completed college, with none having done post-graduate work. The whites, particularly the women, have done somewhat better with 46 of the men, or one per cent, and 121 of the women, or 2 per cent having completed college.

On the whole, the picture is somber but encouraging in the sense that the admittedly low educational status of both groups is balanced by the status of the younger groups, and by the progressive change in the amount of formal education attained with succeeding decades. The outlook for the future is even better. To the extent that education is an index to other factors of import in the leader-group relationship, neighborhood leadership relationships will continue to be improved as time goes on.

OCCUPATIONS OF LEADERS AND THEIR GROUPS

Of the families who composed the neighborhood groups examined in this study, all were rural dwellers; moreover, they were overwhelmingly agriculturalists in occupation. The specific occupations of the heads of the families were analyzed in detail.

There were 5,973 white male heads of families, concerning whom information was obtained in regard to occupation. These families were scattered throughout the length and breadth of the six counties which were taken as a cross-section of the state. The areas ranged all the way from the low-lying lands of the east to the mountainous region in the west, and from the old tobacco belt in the north to the "heavy" cotton area on the southern border of the state.

Less than one per cent of these rural dwellers were without an oc-

³ See Sanford Winston, *Illiteracy in the United States*, *passim*.

TABLE 19. PRIMARY OCCUPATION OF WHITE AND NEGRO MALE
HEADS OF FAMILIES

| Primary occupation | White | Negro |
|--|-------|-------|
| Total: | | |
| Number | 5,973 | 2,548 |
| Per cent | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| None | .9 | 1.2 |
| Farm owners | 59.3 | 21.4 |
| Farm tenants | 17.5 | 18.3 |
| Sharecroppers | 5.7 | 38.5 |
| Farm laborers | 1.1 | 11.9 |
| Part-time farm operators | .5 | — |
| Part-time farm laborers | .2 | .6 |
| Professional and semi-professional workers | .5 | .5 |
| Proprietors, managers, and officials, excluding farm | 1.9 | .2 |
| Clerical, sales, and kindred workers | 1.1 | — |
| Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers | 4.0 | .7 |
| Operatives and kindred workers | 1.5 | .6 |
| Domestic service workers | — | — |
| Protective service workers | .3 | — |
| Service workers, excluding domestic and protective | — | .4 |
| Laborers, excluding farm | 5.5 | 5.7 |

cupation at the time of the study (Table 19). Most of the 55 unemployed men were "retired" either because of age or infirmities or both. A few could be expected to resume an occupation in the future. None were of the class of wealthy retired that is found in more urbanized areas.

Of those who were actively earning a livelihood, 85 per cent were engaged in agriculture; 14 per cent were nonfarmers, albeit rural dwellers.

Of the 5,032 white heads of families who were farmers by primary occupation, seven out of ten (70 per cent) were owners of their farms, and worked them on a full-time basis. Somewhat over one-fifth (21 per cent) were full-time tenant farm laborers. Another one per cent were part-time farmers, with their farming considered as their primary occupation.

There were 2,548 Negro male heads of families, concerning whose occupation information was obtained. Incidentally the Negro families formed 30 per cent of the non-leaders families studied, as compared with the 26 per cent that Negroes constitute of the rural population of North Carolina as a whole.

Of these men, one per cent had no occupation, chiefly because of

disabilities occasioned by old age or chronic illness. Of the remainder, 8 per cent were non-farmers. Thus over nine out of every ten Negro male heads of families were engaged in agriculture as a primary occupation.

There were 2,305 of these men. Their economic status is in direct contrast with that of the white male heads of families. Somewhat less than a fourth (24 per cent) were full-time farm owners. Another 20 per cent were full-time tenants. Over 42 per cent were full-time sharecroppers, with another 13 per cent being classified as full-time farm laborers. Somewhat less than one per cent would be considered as part-time farmers, with farming considered as their primary occupation.

Thus there is a mixed difference in the status of the two groups of men primarily engaged in agriculture. (The percentage of white farm owners is raised by the inclusion of a mountain county in the study. The farmers there were typically owners of small farms, and the proportion of Negro farm families relatively few). The figures for the status of white farmers are comparable to those for the state as a whole. In comparison with the Negro heads of families, their superior farming status becomes self-evident.

Landowners, whether of large or small farms, form a more stable group of men than do tenants, sharecroppers, or laborers. They have a more fundamental interest in the land, its productivity and the things which affect that land and what is derived therefrom. Combined with their ownership of the land, there is more conservatism among them than in the landless group. On the other hand, there is more susceptibility to fundamental changes, where they are convinced that there is advantage to them in these changes.

The non-landowners have on the surface a lesser stake in the land and in the community. The effect of this latter is softened, however, to the extent that these families have remained in a given location for sufficient years to become socially integrated in their communities.

In the interplay between the leaders and their groups, these factors contribute to the results to an important extent. The individual families comprising a group make a great deal of difference to the development of a particular project. Here is one place where the old theories of leaders as "great men", or even as purely superior men, lack vitality. The real leader is found to be the most important member of the group in a specific program or project underway, and his or her relationships with the various members of the group are reflected immediately in the functioning of the particular project on hand.

The leader who deals with essentially a land-owning group does not have quite the same problem as the one who deals more largely with tenant farmers or sharecroppers. Some of these landless groups are on the way to owning land, but the majority of them are not in this category, so that this psychological phase of the question would not particularly affect the general point.

OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN

In most families, there were considered to be two heads, the woman as well as the traditional male head. The occupations of these women were tabulated separately in order to round out the picture of occupational backgrounds. As would be expected, the vast majority of the women were classified as housewives. Of the white families, 91 per cent of the women were in this category. Five per cent of the women were agriculturalists by primary occupation. Most of these women were widows or single women in the middle or later years of life. Only 13 per cent were housewives in addition to running farms. A third group, some 3 per cent, had nonfarm occupations, chiefly in clerical and kindred occupations. One out of five among them were also housewives.

The Negro women presented essentially the same picture. Of these, 88 per cent were primarily housewives, 10 per cent (largely widows or unmarried) were primarily small farmers. Less than 3 per cent were classified in nonfarm occupations, largely in the field of domestic service. Testifying to the greater need of Negro women to work outside the home and yet to maintain a home, over one-fourth of the nonfarm group were housewives by, economically speaking, secondary occupation.

It is obvious that for women of both races the home and the farm constitute their major and almost their sole occupational fields, with comparatively few having nonfarm occupations. This is normal in the areas involved and needs no particular explanation other than that it is the pattern of life in rural areas, largely untouched directly by industrial-urban life.

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS

The great majority of inhabitants in these rural areas are of course primarily engaged in some phase of agriculture. In fact over nine-tenths of the leaders and 85 per cent of the non-leaders among the whites were engaged in farming. (The comparison here is for the male leaders only). The percentages of both are so high that the difference is not of great importance. The Negro group is even more preponderantly agricultural, all of the leaders being farmers pri-

marily except a few retired from active occupational pursuits chiefly because of age and attendant infirmities. The actual percentage was 95, as compared with 91 per cent for the non-leaders.

The great majority of the male white leaders were farm owners, 82 per cent coming under that category. This compares with a total of 59 per cent for the male heads of white families (Table 19). In comparison, there were only 6 per cent of the white leaders who were tenants as compared with a total of 18 per cent in the comparable group of families. Less than one per cent of the leaders were sharecroppers, as compared with 6 per cent of the non-leaders. These differences are all significant.

What now are the facts for the Negro leaders and non-leaders? Fifty-four per cent of the Negro male leaders were farm owners, as compared with only 21 per cent of the non-leader Negro family heads. This statistically, and socially, is highly significant. On the other hand, there was no important difference in the proportion of tenants in the groups. While the proportion of Negro leaders who were croppers was only 18 per cent, 39 per cent of the Negro male heads of families were sharecroppers. Less than 2 per cent of the leaders were farm laborers, whereas 12 per cent of the non-leaders were in this economic group.

These relationships between leaders and non-leaders are important in both races. The leaders and the non-leaders have been seen to be farmers. Not only is the farm-owning group found in importantly larger degree among the white leaders than among the non-leaders, but this fact is still more significant in the relationships between the Negro leaders and non-leaders. There is the usual gap between white and Negro leaders and between white non-leaders and Negro non-leaders. Within the Negro group, however, the difference in proportions between the leaders and non-leaders is of such degree, and the span of time during which this difference has had to arise is such, that the leadership is evident.

Leadership and farm ownership are related to one another in these areas. This poses several problems. Both leader groups must think or be encouraged to think sympathetically and deeply regarding not only their own problems but also the problems of their non-land-owning farm neighbors. These figures show the need of careful building of neighborhood plans for the development of the less fortunate and often less capable farmers. That the great majority of both races are agriculturists should help in this problem. But those who have to do with the developing of projects should consider this particular

phase of the situation carefully in dealing with agricultural problems in those areas where like conditions exist.

The figures offer another comparison of the two races. For the Negro *leaders*, the percentage of agriculturalists who were farm owners was 54 per cent. For the white non-leaders, the proportion of agriculturalists who were farm owners was 59 per cent. It is an important side-light on the handicaps of the Negro leaders when it is seen that they are proportionately less farm owning than are the rank and file of the white farmers in the areas studied.

CHAPTER 12

Comparison of Farms and Homes of Leaders and Their Groups

Neighborhoods in rural areas are subject to variation just as are neighborhoods in urban areas. In terms of a functioning leadership system, this means among other things that overall plans cannot be fitted to each area but must be considered in the light of each particular community and neighborhood. One of the significant bases for variation is the prevalence of farm and home ownership.

SIZE OF FARMS

Since agriculture is the main economic and vocational interest of the rural families in this area, it is fitting that an analysis be made of the size of the farms of the members of the groups. If a farm of 200 or more acres be considered arbitrarily as a large farm, less than eight per cent of the white men farmed areas of this size. In fact, three-fourths (75 per cent) of the families tilled farms of less than 100 acres; 51 per cent had farms of less than 50 acres.

Among the Negro families in the leaders' groups, the farms were correspondingly smaller. In fact only one per cent tilled 200 or more acres. Ninety-five per cent owned or worked farms of less than 100 acres; 82 per cent tilled farms of less than 50 acres.

The small size of the farms is associated with the types of farming, since the cotton, tobacco, truck and subsistence farms found in the mountains are all types of agriculture that require a great deal of hand labor. So far, machinery is relatively scarce except among the larger and the more prosperous farmers. The small farm itself makes the ownership of machinery on a large scale economically unfeasible. This suggests that cooperation among small farmers in the use of machinery be carried further. It also suggests more attention on the part of the farm machinery companies toward the development of smaller types of machinery suitable for intensive cultivation of small acreages.

The small farmer is at a disadvantage in many ways, chiefly economic in nature. On the other hand, there are definite advantages from the standpoint of socialization. Owners and tillers of small areas are closer to one another in a physical sense. In this part of the country, most farmers can see the homes of one or more of their neighbors from the vantage point of their own doorways. This is in contrast to the large isolated farms so typical of the middle and far west.

The closer spatial association naturally and actually makes for closer human association. Families know each other as neighbors and as friends of years' standing. The important exceptions are those who as poor tenants and sharecroppers tend to move about in the hope of at last attaining a more adequate patch of ground to cultivate. The great bulk of people in these neighborhoods are acquainted with each others faults and virtues, whether as farmers or in terms of personalities.

There is a greater degree of interrelationship within each race, with the race lines potential barriers to the recognition of the abilities and the interests of one's neighbors. Thus in many ways, the stable neighborhoods of rural North Carolina are strengthened by the close proximity physically, and ordinarily socially, of people largely engaged in agriculture. All this has its repercussions on the problem of neighborhood leadership and the development of ways and means in the making of that leadership a practical adjunct in the progress of programs with which the people in particular neighborhoods may concern themselves or may be led to concern themselves.

To the extent that too small farms are an economic handicap, of course, no neighborhood is helped. And this is often too true. Yet the general point remains and has been found to be a factor of no small importance in the integration of neighborhoods and the development of a smoothly functioning system of leader-group relationships in specific neighborhoods and communities.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS IN EXTENT OF ACRES OPERATED

The relative number of acres operated throws light on another phase of the relationship existing between leaders and non-leaders. The average (mean) number of acres operated by the white male leaders was 226. The average number of acres operated by the non-leaders was 97. These averages indicate that leaders tend to be decidedly larger operators of farm land than do non-leaders.

A further analysis was made by dividing the leaders into groups according to the number of acres that they operated and then comparing their average with the number of acres operated by the non-leader families in the neighborhood groups (Tables 20 and 21). The larger the farms operated by the leaders, the greater the proportion of their families who operate smaller farms than the neighborhood leaders. This, of course, is what might be expected. The picture becomes clearer when the proportion of white leaders who operate a larger number of acres than the white families in their groups is calculated. Eighty-four per cent of the white male leaders operate

TABLE 20. TOTAL ACRES OPERATED BY WHITE MALE LEADERS AS COMPARED WITH
ACREAGES OPERATED BY WHITE MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES

| Total acres operated by leaders | White male leaders | White male heads of families | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| | | Total | Smaller number of acres than leader | Same number of acres as leader | Larger number of acres than leader |
| Total: | | | | | |
| Number | 348 | 2,406 | 1,537 | 472 | 397 |
| Per cent | 100.0 | 100.0 | 63.9 | 19.6 | 16.5 |
| Less than 10 | 2.0 | 100.0 | 19.7 | 11.5 | 68.8 |
| 10- 19 | 1.4 | 100.0 | 32.5 | 25.0 | 42.5 |
| 20- 49 | 12.6 | 100.0 | 25.8 | 31.8 | 42.4 |
| 50- 99 | 27.3 | 100.0 | 54.0 | 25.0 | 21.0 |
| 100-199 | 23.6 | 100.0 | 72.8 | 19.0 | 8.2 |
| 200-499 | 23.6 | 100.0 | 85.2 | 13.3 | 1.5 |
| 500 or more | 9.5 | 100.0 | 99.5 | .5 | — |

TABLE 21. TOTAL ACRES OPERATED BY NEGRO MALE LEADERS AS COMPARED WITH
ACREAGES OPERATED BY NEGRO MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES

| Total acres operated by leaders | Negro male leaders | Negro male heads of families | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| | | Total | Smaller number of acres than leader | Same number of acres as leader | Larger number of acres than leader |
| Total: | | | | | |
| Number | 152 | 801 | 533 | 167 | 101 |
| Per cent | 100.0 | 100.0 | 66.5 | 20.9 | 12.6 |
| Less than 10 | 2.0 | 100.0 | — | 70.8 | 29.2 |
| 10- 19 | 9.2 | 100.0 | 37.9 | 25.3 | 36.8 |
| 20- 49 | 32.2 | 100.0 | 46.6 | 36.5 | 16.9 |
| 50- 99 | 25.0 | 100.0 | 79.1 | 11.6 | 9.3 |
| 100-199 | 26.3 | 100.0 | 93.3 | 5.7 | 1.0 |
| 200-499 | 5.3 | 100.0 | 98.0 | 2.0 | — |
| 500 or more | — | — | — | — | — |

farms of larger acreage than do the farmers which comprise their groups. In the case of Negro families who are in the groups headed by white leaders, the figures are even more sharply defined. Of those leaders who operated the smaller farms (under 50 acres), only one had a Negro family in his group which operated a farm of over 50 acres.

The Negro leaders and the non-leaders who comprise their specific groups were then compared in the same manner. The relationship here is even more regular. The proportion of farms smaller than those

of the leaders rapidly increases as size of leaders' farms increases. In fact, the preponderance of larger acreages among leaders as compared with their groups is greater among the Negroes than among the whites.

The conclusion drawn from these data is evident. Leaders are drawn from operators of the larger farms. Off hand, this would seem to be largely an economic matter, that is, operators of large farms are the leaders, with operators of smaller farms the non-leaders. To the extent that this is true, there is danger of underrepresentation of the smaller farmers. But there is more to it than this. Leadership attainment represents achievement; so do large land holdings. The operators of the larger farms have attained both leadership socially and large farm operations agriculturally and economically.

The Negro leaders illustrate this sociological point even more forcefully than do the white leaders. The entire Negro group is only 80 years away from a non-ownership status, so far as the area under discussion is concerned. In that time the usual social process of distribution on the social and economic ladder has taken place. Like the white leaders, the Negro leaders have achieved both social leadership and relative economic and agricultural success to the extent that they are measured in terms of operation of larger acreages. Although the land holdings and farm operations of the Negro leaders are much less extensive than those of the white leaders, the Negro leaders are the larger operators in terms of comparison with the non-leader Negro groups.

Along with larger operations there generally come increased prestige and acknowledged leadership. The qualities which make for leadership may not be the same as the qualities which make for the development of large operations, but there exists a relationship which is one of the many phenomena associated with leadership achievement. In the meantime there exists the query as to what degree non-leaders would achieve (a) larger farm operations and (b) leadership among their fellows under more favorable circumstances.

HOME OWNERSHIP

Home ownership is more significant in its meaning in rural than urban areas. There may be good and sufficient economic reasons why urban families may prefer to rent rather than to own homes, but in rural areas and even more so for the great agricultural groups, home ownership is generally associated with a more stable life and an economically as well as socially higher status than non-ownership. Consequently, it is of interest to compare the relative degree of home

ownership of leaders and non-leaders.

Of the white leaders, 89 per cent were home owners. The percentage of those who were thus situated was the same for both farmers and non-farmers in rural areas. In contrast, 72 per cent of the heads of white families in the leaders' groups owned their homes, and only 28 per cent of the heads of the Negro families included in the neighborhood groups of white leaders owned their homes.

Of the Negro leaders, 55 per cent owned their homes. Included in their neighborhoods were eight white families, none of them being home owners. The Negro families in these largely Negro neighborhoods were 29 per cent home owning. Thus, in the case of white and Negro leaders, the percentage of home owners was greater than the percentage of the families in their neighborhoods of either race who were home owners.

Since a small proportion of white leaders and a large proportion of Negro leaders were renters, it is interesting to compare the families from the neighborhoods of the owning and renting leaders in respect to home ownership. When the white leaders owned their homes, 73 per cent of the white families in their groups owned their homes, whereas when white leaders rented only 62 per cent of their group owned their homes.

For the groups of the owning and renting Negro leaders, a definite relationship is also found. Forty per cent of the family groups of the home-owning Negro leaders in turn owned their homes, whereas only 15 per cent of the family groups of the renting Negro leaders owned their homes.

Several conclusions are to be drawn from these data. The leadership group, either white or Negro, is a more stable group and economically and socially is above the average of the families in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the home-owning leaders of each race have groups of a higher status in their own race to deal with than do the renting leaders. The significance of these facts is that the leaders have more at stake in developments in their communities than many families which means that they are probably more interested in such developments. Moreover, the relationships existing between leaders of higher socio-economic status (as measured by home ownership in rural areas) means that the problems involved in adequate fulfillment of these programs are eased in some areas and are more difficult in others.

All this is predicated on the fact that home ownership in rural regions is more desirable than renting, and that the social class of mature home owners is higher than that of renters, a statement

which is borne out by a knowledge of the patterns of living of the two groups in question.

HOMES OF NON-LEADERS

Considering all families in groups together it was found that of the rural white families over seven out of every ten (72 per cent) owned their homes. In contrast only 27 per cent of the Negro families had the status of home owners. For the white families, the great proportion of farm operators as well as of the nonfarm group owned their homes; for the Negroes the reverse was true.

A further corroboration of this plane of living index was found in ascertaining whether the homes were painted or unpainted. Somewhat over half (51 per cent) of the homes of the white rural dwellers were painted. A somewhat larger proportion of owned homes than of rented houses were painted, as might be expected (53 per cent as compared with 45 per cent). Only one out of ten of the Negro dwellings was painted, although this percentage was almost doubled for the home owners (19 per cent as compared with seven per cent for the renters). Houses of brick were few and far between in these rural areas; only 1 per cent of the white dwellings and only a *total* of 2 houses of the Negro families were of brick.

Thus the same type of discrepancy between races is seen once more. None of the neighborhood leaders of each race are considered, simply the families who compose their groups.

To those accustomed to the neat, carefully painted houses found in many parts of the United States, the evidence of lack of pride in the appearance of houses may seem strange. The pattern has existed for many decades but has begun to change rapidly. This change is not accidental but is taking place concomitantly with other developments which are indicative of a higher plane of living for the great numbers of rural families, white or colored. And as this plane of living advances the background for a successful leader-group relationship in specific projects is also advanced.

To the extent that home ownership is found—and it is high among white families—there is presumably more interest in improving methods in many aspects of rural life. This may be counted upon as an important factor in producing desired changes through a functioning leadership system. In this respect, owning a home is much like owning a farm. The two usually go hand in hand. Together they contribute to the stability of a particular neighborhood or community. While on the one hand, there may be the danger of too great conservatism towards change; on the other hand, there is the more fundamental interest in regard to proposed changes that would affect the lives of the people for the better.

CHAPTER 13

A Note on Level of Living of Families

The same level of living index which had been applied to the leaders' homes (Chapter 9) was utilized in analyzing the homes of the families in the neighborhood groups. The six items used were the possession of an automobile, a truck, a radio, use of electricity, a telephone, and piped water in the home.

Of the 6,475 white families, only one per cent had all six items or, if this is too much to expect of rural folk, less than six per cent had as many as five items (Table 22). One out of six of all the white

TABLE 22. LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX^a OF LEADERS AND FAMILIES, BY RACE

| Level of living index | White | | Negro | |
|-----------------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Leaders | Families | Leaders | Families |
| Total: | | | | |
| Number | 712 | 6,475 | 254 | 2,828 |
| Per cent | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| None | 5.2 | 16.4 | 13.0 | 42.3 |
| One | 15.6 | 24.1 | 36.9 | 33.9 |
| Two | 21.2 | 24.9 | 34.3 | 19.8 |
| Three | 21.2 | 19.3 | 13.0 | 3.7 |
| Four | 17.1 | 9.5 | 2.8 | .3 |
| Five | 14.2 | 4.8 | — | — |
| Six | 5.5 | 1.0 | — | — |

^a Includes ownership of an automobile, possession of a truck, telephone, radio, electricity in the home, and piped water supply in the house.

families had none of these items; four out of ten had either one or none of these items.

The Negro families scored still lower. Only a fraction of one per cent had as many as four of the items. None of the Negro families had as many as five of these items. More than four out of every ten rural Negro families possessed none of these items.

The contrast with the leaders is obvious. Leadership is correlated with possession to a much greater extent of one to six of these items. This simple index reveals the decided lack of instrumentalities that are regarded as important in adequate rural life and living. A low index is indicative not only of a lack of these means but also of a lack of other factors which make for a more adequate social body. Thus, leaders are handicapped to the extent that they must work with groups which have been unable to attain many of these re-

sources. Their programs must be pitched closely to the indicated level of living and must contain less of the theoretical and more of the practical than is perhaps always desirable.

The components of this simple index stand for different things, with communication of a physical and verbal sort weighted heavily.

The possession of five of these items in homes in rural communities is rated as very good, four items as good, three items as "only fair," two or less items as inadequate in terms of present day standards of living. On such a basis not only rural families but also rural leaders in North Carolina are definitely handicapped.

PART IV

The Leaders on the Job

The Operation of the Program

The development of the neighborhood leader idea reached one stage with the defining of neighborhoods and the selection and election of leaders. This happened about a year and a half prior to the present study. The neighborhoods were first delineated and then the leader or leaders were chosen. Because of the exigencies of time and space, all leaders were not obtained at one time. Four-fifths of the leaders had served for a year or longer at the time of the field survey with half of this group having been leaders in the set-up for 16 months or more. The degree of service varies of course with the time of selection. White leaders as a group had served longer than Negro leaders. Eighty-five per cent of all the white leaders had served for more than a year; almost half (46 per cent) had been neighborhood leaders for over 16 months. Sixty-nine per cent of all the Negro leaders had been such for more than a year; one-fourth for more than 16 months. Men leaders on the average were selected somewhat earlier and consequently had served for a longer period than women leaders. Among the whites, almost nine-tenths (89 per cent) of the men had served for more than a year as compared with four-fifths (81 per cent) of the women. The data for Negro men and women are not comparable due to the fact that Negro men leaders were chosen in the beginning of the leadership program, followed after a time by the choosing of women leaders.

A significant difference in length of service exists between white and Negro men. The 89 per cent of white men who had served more than a year at the time of the study is to be compared with 53 per cent of Negro men. The difference in length of service between the women leaders, however, was not important, although probably more so than the data suggest because of the facts cited above. There is a trend toward greater length of service on the part of the leaders who have been chosen to be members of some committee or chairmen of the various groups.

At the other end of the service scale are new leaders who have been constantly added in the development of the program. Ten per cent of the neighborhood leaders are to be considered as "new," the criterion here being service as neighborhood leader for less than four months. Since the neighborhood set-up is older in the white than the Negro neighborhoods, a difference would be expected. Actually, 29 per cent of the Negro leaders are new under this definition as com-

pared with four per cent of the whites. The differentiation is found for both men and women.

NUMBER OF PROGRAMS PRESENTED AND LENGTH OF TIME SERVED AS LEADER

In the short time the leadership system has been in operation, there has been an average of over five programs presented by the leaders. The number of programs has varied naturally with the length of leadership status, ranging all the way from less than two programs for the newer leaders (those having served less than four months) to an average of seven programs on the part of the older leaders (those who have served from 16 through 21 months). White leaders have presented more programs than Negro leaders. This is due in part to the fact that white leaders have served for a longer average period than Negro leaders. The average (mean) number of programs presented prior to the study has been 5.6 for the white leaders; 5.0 for the Negro leaders (Table 23). In terms of the dif-

TABLE 23. NUMBER OF PROGRAMS PRESENTED BY LEADERS TO FAMILIES BY
NUMBER OF MONTHS SERVED AS LEADER

| Months served as leader | Mean number of programs presented | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|---------|-------|---------|
| | Total | Whites | Negroes | Males | Females |
| Total | 5.3 | 5.6 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.6 |
| 1- 3 | 1.8 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 1.8 |
| 4- 6 | 3.4 | 3.5 | 3.4 | 3.5 | 3.3 |
| 7- 9 | 4.1 | 3.7 | 4.7 | 3.9 | 4.2 |
| 10-12 | 5.7 | 6.1 | 4.0 | 5.9 | 5.6 |
| 13-15 | 4.9 | 5.0 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 5.2 |
| 16-18 | 6.9 | 6.6 | 7.9 | 6.7 | 7.0 |
| 19-21 | 6.8 | 6.8 | — | 3.7 | 8.3 |

ference in length of service, there is no significant difference, however, and there is no reason why even apparent differences should not be wiped out with more complete development, training, and encouragement of the Negro leaders.

Women present a somewhat larger number of programs than men. While the men have presented an average of 5.0 programs, the women presented an average of 5.6 programs. Women either had time or took time to present their programs. What is more important is the fact that whereas both men and women were interested in some programs, other programs appealed to one sex more than the other, with consequently greater enthusiasm for those particular programs. A leader is far more likely to present programs which appeal to him,

since the whole leadership system is on a voluntary basis. This of course involves "selling" a program to the leaders in a fundamental way.

The question as to the number of programs a leader may be expected to present is an important one. At the one extreme, there is the possibility of asking for too much time and effort. These leaders are busy men and women for the most part. The time consumed in presenting a program to all the members of a neighborhood group is considerable. To ask too much is both unfair and unwise. At the other extreme, non-utilization of the leaders tends to weaken the bonds of leadership interrelationships so far as the definite presenting of programs is concerned. Obviously, the answer lies somewhere between these not altogether theoretical extremes.

One question in mind when interviewing the leaders was the possibility that they might think that they had been asked to do too much. As a matter of fact, only a small minority has this reaction. They can be divided into two groups. One group consisted of those who were actually too busy or who felt that they were too busy to take the extra time and energy needed for the presentation of the programs. The other group consisted of those who were not adequate leaders and hence had unusual difficulty in getting things accomplished. Since this involved an important point in neighborhood leadership technique, the problem was pursued further. The few who fell into the latter category were found to have been chosen as neighborhood leaders without careful evaluation of their abilities. They had been chosen either because they were popular or because they had accomplished things for themselves. In a few cases they were selected by the farm agents without adequate knowledge. This poses the question as to what should be done about such men and women. The answer of course is that they should be converted into actual leaders or replaced by more adequate leaders. Since most of them do not desire to continue even as nominal leaders, the problem is relatively simple. Where they do wish to continue, the procedure is either a matter of adequate counseling or training or of tactfully substituting other possible leaders.

A certain length of time is necessary for a person who is a neighborhood leader to develop techniques of applying that leadership adequately. In most cases, the prerequisites are essentially there in that the person in question is regarded as a leader for good reasons in his particular neighborhood. The element of time, however, is as necessary in this field as any other.

PROGRAM PARTICIPATION

The degree of participation in the various programs by the leaders varied naturally according to their interests and enthusiasms and the time demand of their own work, as well as their general fitness for leadership. Outstanding examples of high participation were in the drives intimately connected with the war (Table 24). Ninety

TABLE 24. DEFENSE CAMPAIGNS OR PROGRAMS IN WHICH LEADERS PARTICIPATED,
BY RACE AND SEX

| Campaign or program | Per cent participation | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| | White | | Negro | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Scrap iron collection | 93.3 | 94.4 | 81.0 | 81.3 |
| Rubber collection | 89.3 | 94.1 | 75.3 | 81.3 |
| Machinery repair | 47.2 | 28.7 | 16.5 | 8.3 |
| Victory garden, 1942 | 94.7 | 95.5 | 82.3 | 84.4 |
| Victory garden, 1943 | 93.5 | 94.7 | 93.7 | 91.7 |
| Cost of living | 17.1 | 27.5 | 20.3 | 25.0 |
| Soybean and peanut production | 32.0 | 28.9 | 25.3 | 12.5 |
| 4-H mobilization | 2.8 | 5.9 | 3.8 | 9.4 |
| Civilian defense | 13.8 | 28.1 | 9.5 | 6.3 |
| War bonds and stamps | 57.9 | 66.6 | 38.0 | 40.6 |
| Relocation | 2.5 | 1.4 | — | 1.0 |
| Red Cross | 65.7 | 74.4 | 68.4 | 65.6 |
| Auto transportation pools | 46.7 | 50.0 | 36.1 | 21.9 |
| Sugar rationing | 7.3 | 12.1 | 5.1 | 6.3 |
| Milk cow survey | 25.8 | 21.6 | 11.4 | 7.3 |
| Grease and fat collection | 13.8 | 27.7 | 12.7 | 7.3 |
| Truck registration | 11.5 | 8.7 | 1.9 | — |
| Share the meat | 44.4 | 46.9 | 28.5 | 27.1 |
| Farm inventory | 5.9 | 3.9 | 26.6 | 26.0 |
| War production goals | 3.1 | 7.0 | 20.3 | 8.3 |
| Food preservation | .6 | 2.8 | — | 2.1 |
| Farm labor | .3 | 1.4 | — | — |
| Orchards | 2.8 | 1.1 | 10.8 | 1.0 |
| Point rationing | .8 | .8 | — | 1.0 |
| Gas rationing | .8 | — | — | — |
| Turkey cooperative | 1.7 | 2.5 | 1.9 | 2.1 |
| Home beautification | — | — | — | 1.0 |
| TVA water shed | — | .3 | — | — |

per cent of all the leaders participated in the collection of scrap iron, the need for which at one time was so ably and dramatically demonstrated. Ninety-three per cent of the white leaders participated in this drive; over 80 per cent of the Negro leaders participated. Women were just as active, except for the actual physical phase, as were the men. Six per cent of the leaders acted as chairmen or members of

committees directing this particular drive, thus contributing their services on a still higher plane of leadership.

The greatest degree of individual participation took place in the developmmment of Victory gardens for the second year of the war. The patriotic impulse was joined by stimuli for larger and more varied gardens.

Four per cent of the leaders acted as chairmen or committee members for Victory gardens. The proportion who acted in these capacities was small primarily because the committees themselves were naturally limited to a few people. In the Red Cross activities, however, over six per cent acted as chairmen or committee members, although the proportion participating in Red Cross drives was reduced to 69 per cent.

Many of the drives were limited in scope to particular localities, so that comparisons of the proportions engaged in the various campaigns or projects cannot strictly be made.

METHODS USED BY LEADERS IN CONTACTING FAMILIES

In comparison with the opinions of the leaders regarding the methods of obtained cooperation, the actual methods used in contacting families were studied. The pictures are by no means the same.

For the white leaders, over three-fifths (61 per cent) utilized casual personal contacts as a method of presenting and furthering programs. Almost half (47 per cent) of these leaders paid personal visits to the homes. Leaflets and bulletins were sent by one-fifth of the white leaders. Seven per cent of the leaders were visited by one or more members of families in their groups. Group meetings among whites were little in evidence, only two per cent of the leaders having used this method (Table 25).

For the Negroes, personal home visits were followed as a method by 65 per cent of the leaders. Casual personal contacts were utilized as an occasion for discussing programs by 48 per cent. Leaflets and bulletins were sent by 24 per cent. Eight per cent of the leaders were visited by one or more members of family groups in their neighborhood. In contradistinction to the white leaders, 13 per cent of the Negro leaders had group meetings at which they presented and explained neighborhood programs.

There were some sex differences among the white leaders. Women paid more personal visits to homes and had more casual personal contacts at which neighborhood programs were discussed in spite of the greater opportunity of men to do this. The differences, however, are not great enough to be emphasized and otherwise there were no significant differences between the two sexes in their methods

TABLE 25. METHODS USED BY WHITE AND NEGRO LEADERS IN CONTACTING FAMILIES, BY NUMBER OF CONTACTS

| Methods used in contacting families | Number of contacts (per cent distribution) | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|----------------------|------|-------|---------------|-------|----------------------|------|-------|---------------|
| | Total | By 712 white leaders | | | 20 or more | Total | By 254 Negro leaders | | | 20 or more |
| | | None | 1-9 | 10-19 | | | None | 1-9 | 10-19 | |
| Personal visits to home | 100.0 | 52.8 | 23.9 | 16.4 | 6.9 | 100.0 | 35.4 | 50.8 | 11.8 | 2.0 |
| Casual personal contacts | 100.0 | 39.1 | 21.4 | 22.1 | 17.4 | 100.0 | 51.8 | 30.8 | 14.2 | 3.2 |
| Group meetings | 100.0 | 97.9 | 2.1 | — | — | 100.0 | 87.4 | 12.2 | .4 | — |
| Circular letters | 100.0 | 99.4 | .4 | .1 | — | 100.0 | 98.4 | 1.6 | — | — |
| Leaflets or bulletins | 100.0 | 78.7 | 6.3 | 9.4 | 5.5 | 100.0 | 76.0 | 20.5 | 3.1 | .4 |
| Posters | 100.0 | 97.8 | 2.0 | .3 | — | 100.0 | 99.2 | .8 | — | — |
| Telephone calls | 100.0 | 98.6 | 1.3 | .1 | — | 100.0 | 100.0 | — | — | — |
| Visits to leaders | 100.0 | 93.2 | 5.4 | 1.3 | .1 | 100.0 | 92.5 | 7.5 | — | — |

of contacting families. Nor did the Negro leaders differ fundamentally along sex lines in their methods of presentation of programs.

In comparison with the casual contacts and home visits, the group meetings technique suffered. Apparently this method so far is more ideal than real. Careful questioning brought out the fact that neighborhood leaders need more training and more confidence in their ability to conduct neighborhood meetings designed to explain purposes and methods of new programs. Here is a point worthy of further pursuit as the general program develops.

Many of the leaders used two or more methods of securing contacts with the members of their groups. No hard and fast rule can be laid down as conditions differ. Programs have varied degrees of complexity and need varied amounts of explanation. Some are conducted at busier seasons of the year than are others.

An interesting sidelight on the lack of utilization of a modern device is seen in the non-use of telephones. Only ten of the white leaders and none of the Negro leaders reported the use of telephones in the furtherance of neighborhood leadership projects. Rural Negro leaders, let alone the rank and file of rural Negro families, have few telephones. Only one rural leader among the Negroes had this convenience. Among the white leaders, the presence of telephones was also low, but the real explanation for non-utilization lies in the even greater lack of telephones in the homes of the families. Less than one per cent of the Negro families had telephones; only one-fifth of the white families had telephones. Some day this will be remedied for a large proportion of farm families. In the meantime, it is a peculiar indication of lack of means of communication in one small phase of developing neighborhood systems of interrelationships.

LENGTH OF ACQUAINTANCE AND NUMBER OF PERSONAL VISITS BY LEADER

In the functioning of the neighborhood system in the various programs, as indicated above, personal visits by the leaders were resorted to as one of the chief means of discussion, passing out information, and often material. Thirty-eight per cent of the white families and 47 per cent of the Negro families were visited at least once.

Offhand, it might be expected that the duration of the leader's acquaintance with his various friends and neighbors would affect the number of visits that would be made. Actually no particular relationship existed between the number of visits made by the leaders to the homes of their groups and the duration of acquaintance with the members of those groups.

The reason for this is simply that so far, under the stress and strain

of the various campaigns, largely tied up with the war effort, leaders who have paid personal visits have done so on a unit basis. They have visited a number of families on their list in consecutive order, so that long standing friendship played no particular part in these visits. Perhaps the reader should be reminded once more that only personal visits which had to do with specific projects were listed under the category of personal visits. Casual social calls were eliminated from consideration at the outset.

METHODS OF OBTAINING COOPERATION FROM RURAL FAMILIES

In many respects the most difficult of the problems of neighborhood leadership is that of the successful interrelationships between the chosen leaders and the rural families which make up their groups. In discussing the whole matter with the leaders, they were asked their opinion as to the best method of obtaining the cooperation of the members of their groups in any of the programs which the leaders were asked to undertake.

Over three-fifths (62 per cent) of the white leaders were of the opinion that personal visits to the homes of rural families constituted the best method of obtaining cooperation in the development of projects. Men and women in identical measure agreed on this procedure. Casual personal contacts were chosen by almost a fifth (19 per cent) of the white leaders as the best method of contact for purposes of developing programs. Men preferred it somewhat more than women, due in part to the fact that men have more opportunity for and are more accustomed to the give and take involved in the casual contact which can often be turned into a definite discussion of the particular problem or problems being developed at the time. Group meetings were chosen by 10 per cent of the white leaders. The women leaders preferred this method to a somewhat greater extent than the men leaders. The former are accustomed to the group meetings of the home demonstration clubs and this mode of procedure affects their attitudes.

When asked to name a second best method, the group meeting was preferred by the greatest number of white leaders. Since the "second preferences" were chosen by the same leaders who gave "first preferences", it must be remembered that the "second preference" percentages are affected by the "first preference" percentages. Next in order of second preference choices were casual personal contacts and personal visits to homes.

Totalling first and second choices, personal visits to homes, casual personal contacts, and group meetings were chosen, in that order,

as the preferred methods. No other single method was chosen by any considerable number except that bulletins and leaflets were liked as a *second* best method by one out of six of the white leaders.

Except for one particular, the reactions of Negro leaders were the same as those of the white leaders. The most popular method was still personal visits to homes, but group meetings were chosen by the next largest number, with casual personal contacts assuming third place. The previously mentioned pattern of group meetings existing among Negroes is evident once more. As among the white leaders, bulletins and leaflets were liked as a second best method by Negro leaders.

The picture of the preferences of both racial groups is more complete by reporting the results of innumerable conversations with leaders to the effect that the personal visits to homes are often tied up with the distribution of information to the specific families and discussions concerning the physical and family resources of the particular family in reference to the particular program under discussion. Furthermore, the consensus was that with further training of the leaders more group meetings would be feasible. As in other things, combinations of methods were considered more satisfactory than any single type of contact.



CHAPTER 15

Relationships Between Leaders and Agents

The chief sources of information in regard to the programs presented through the neighborhood leadership system are the members of the county agents' office staffs. Additional information comes from the specialized workers in the state and district agents' offices and from other agricultural workers, such as vocational teachers, Farm Security Administration workers, AAA committeemen and women, and the numerous lay leaders found in all rural counties.

Other sources of information are the radio, newspapers and magazines (chiefly farm journals), and bulletins and leaflets. The ownership of a radio by the individual leader (as well as by the families in his group) is a decided asset in the spreading of information and the

successful fruition of programs. Newspapers and farm magazines contribute of course to the same end.

Bulletins and leaflets ordinarily distributed from the county agents' offices have proved, at their best, a further source of necessary technical information, worded and illustrated in such a way as to be of greatest readability and hence service to the wide variety of rural families for whom they are primarily designed. They have specific and proper place in the rounding out of a "complete" neighborhood leadership program.

These sources form the basis for adequately supplying farm families with the information they need. Thus far, the sources have not lived up to their potentialities. A great deal of concentrated work remains to be done in the more adequate synchronizing and focusing of these channels of information.

More important in many ways than supplying information is the stimulation to be given to the neighborhood leaders. Because of the close tie-up with the county agents, this demands a degree of training and enthusiasm on the part of the agents which is of tremendous significance. Information imparted without stimulation is usually inadequate, whether it be in this or any other field of human interaction.

THE ROLE OF THE COUNTY AGENTS

At the present time, neighborhood leaders are volunteers. These leaders have the necessity of making a living. They have little inclination toward, and have given little thought to, the overall leadership that might exist among them in any system of neighborhood leadership. On the other hand, the farm and home agents are the focal points of the neighborhood leadership development throughout the state. There is a direct tie-up between them and the neighborhood leaders in their counties. Rural men and women look to the agents for guidance in matters agricultural and familial. In terms of the development of a leadership system, the county agent organization has been available as an aid and deserves much of the credit for the present stage of usefulness of the neighborhood system. The agents and their organization form a solid link to which the neighborhood leadership system can attach itself. At the present stage, the system definitely needs that attachment.

Various forms of relationships existing between agents and leaders have been examined. It remains to examine some of the ways the county agents may effect the further development of the program. The number of agents in the counties studied would be too few to warrant generalizations, so that the following conclusions are based

on an acquaintance with an important proportion of the county and home agents, together with their assistants, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the state.

Taken as a group, these men and women are a hard-working and devoted band of people. The nature of their work is varied and of impelling interest. Any agent at all interested in his or her vocation has more than enough to do. From the standpoint of leadership development this has a serious aspect. Absorbed necessarily in the manifold aspects of their work, most agents have not been able to devote the necessary time to the constant building up and unremitting attention that the neighborhood leadership system demands. It takes a tremendous amount of time and energy to achieve this in any specific county.

The question thus presents itself as the possibilities for the necessary time and energy. Where funds become available, the addition of an assistant agent is an obvious step to be taken. Such a person could well spend all of his or her time in the constant contacts and programs involving the utilization of neighborhood leaders. Where such a possibility is not present in any particular county—due to the need for the assistant in other phases of county agent work—an arrangement could be made for utilization of part of an assistant agent's time in this regard. Where this is done, the amount of time allotted should have some semblance of regularity in terms of the importance of neighborhood leadership and for the sake of securing that continuity which is in danger of being lost when such an arrangement is a haphazard one.

A variation of this arrangement, and one that is being or will be tried out in many counties, is that of utilizing the new assistant agent's time so that the work of either farm or home agent, or of both, can be sufficiently lightened so that the neighborhood leadership contacts may be divided among the two main agents and their assistants. More prosaically, county agents are now doing this in many cases where the needed assistant is not at hand.

Other possibilities suggest themselves after field observation and innumerable conversations with county and state officials and leaders. One of the most difficult problems an agent has to face is the amount of time and energy which he or she can devote to minor matters. A particular farmer may require specific attention in regard to his own perplexing or insistent problem. The multiplication of such problems may and often does consume so much time that the agent has little apparent time for other matters of more importance to the general group. In these cases, a re-orientation of approach is necessary. Ad-

mittedly the aid of assistant agents is of tremendous importance in this regard.

Furthermore, at the time of the survey a large proportion of the counties did not yet have assistant agents.¹ This was particularly true for the women. In such cases, the question of time and energy necessary to devote to an adequate development of the leadership system becomes still more of a problem and the need for "re-budgeting" time is more than evident.

For the home agents and their assistants, the problem of time is within sight of possible solution. Home agents and their assistants have their time more specifically allocated than do farm agents because of the necessity of regular meeting times with home demonstration clubs. In the past, and this is still largely the case, the clubs have felt that a meeting without a home agent present would not be adequate. It is true that the trained leader's presence should make such a meeting a more efficient one. However, the home demonstration clubs in large measure have existed a long while and have developed a routine of procedure which is making possible an arrangement whereby meetings can be held under the leadership of one of the members of a club. To the extent that home agents can be freed of attendance at some of the meetings, to that extent will time be secured which can be utilized in the development of leaders and the leadership system in general.

Since the agents are such important factors in the leadership program, the caliber of these men and women is of great import. Thus, from the standpoint of the leaders, and the potential contribution of the agents, these men and women more than ever must be capable of handling not only the technical aspects of their occupation but also must have or should develop the ability to handle the growing leadership system and the men and women leaders.

Furthermore, many of the agents must be educated as to potentialities of the leadership development. The techniques, practices, and successes of other agents need to be passed on to those who have not developed such procedures. The whole philosophy of leadership needs explanation. Fortunately, this is not a theoretical pattern developed in text-books or in philosophical dissertations.

VISITS TO AGENTS BY LEADERS

Since the men and women studied are leaders in their communities and neighborhoods and since the farm and home demonstration agents are county leaders in rural work, a certain amount of visit-

¹ As of April 1, 1945, there were 54 assistant home agents.

ing the county agents' offices would normally be expected. As a matter of fact, one-fourth (26 per cent) of the leaders surveyed had made such visits within the last months. There were no significant differences by race, but a distinct sex difference did exist. Men leaders were more accustomed to visit their agents than were the women leaders. This was found to be true of both races. Men find more occasion to visit offices than do women. For both men and women, Saturday is traditionally the day when visits to the agents' offices can be sandwiched between other duties and pleasures tied up with going to the county seat. Men also pay more repeated visits to an agent's office than do women, which is in line with expectations in this regard. In part this significant sex difference is made up by the fact that the women meet in the home demonstration clubs through the county. Yet the fact remains that in these visits the men leaders have a closer tie-up with the agricultural leader than do women with their corresponding leader.

In the utilization of leadership, these visits take on a new aspect, affording the county agents opportunities for contacts with those men and women who have been chosen as leaders in their home neighborhoods and communities. The two—county agent and neighborhood leader—form important links in the chain of operations of what may well become an important social institution.

Struck by the fact that those who attended meetings in connection with the leadership program might also pay visits to the offices of the county agents, an analysis was made of the correlation that might exist between the two. It was found that of those who had attended no meetings within the last months, less than a fourth (23 per cent) had visited the agents' offices. At the other end of the scale, of those who had attended two or more meetings in this short space of time, three-fifths had visited the agents' offices. Furthermore, the number of visits per person increased as attendance at meetings increased. These relationships hold for both races. They also hold for men and women considered separately.

Thus there is a relationship between the making of social contacts in the field of leadership relations. That those who are more active in one case should be more active in the other throws an important side-light on one of the phenomena of leadership. Agents throughout the state have been quick to point out that attendance at meetings is one sign of a more desirable type of leader from the standpoint of interest and positive behavior in the developing and carrying forward of programs. The fact that these men and women, white or

colored, make more social contacts of these types than their neighbors is no accident.

TYPE OF CONTACT FROM AGENTS PREFERRED BY LEADERS

The matter of contacts between agents and leaders is of such importance that the leaders were asked to give their preference among the three types of contacts emanating from the agents. These were, first, visits from the agents to the leaders; second, meetings of neighborhood leaders and the agents; third, material in the form of letters, leaflets, and bulletins (Table 26).

TABLE 26. TYPE OF CONTACT FROM FARM AND HOME AGENTS PREFERRED BY LEADERS, BY RACE*

| Type of contact | First Choice | | | Second Choice | | | Third Choice | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------|-------|---------------|-------|-------|--------------|-------|-------|
| | Total | White | Negro | Total | White | Negro | Total | White | Negro |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Visits | 33.7 | 33.4 | 34.4 | 52.3 | 49.9 | 58.4 | 13.9 | 16.5 | 7.2 |
| Meetings | 49.2 | 45.7 | 58.4 | 32.7 | 33.3 | 31.2 | 17.7 | 20.5 | 10.4 |
| Material | 17.1 | 20.9 | 7.2 | 15.0 | 16.7 | 10.4 | 68.4 | 63.1 | 82.4 |

* Of the total of 966 leaders 55, or 5.7 per cent, reported "no choice."

Of the white leaders interviewed, seven per cent were undecided (and in some cases of inadequate leaders probably insufficiently interested) as to which type of contact they preferred. Of the remaining 93 per cent, almost half expressed themselves as preferring meetings. One-third preferred visits, and only one-fifth preferred materials. Both male and female leaders were of the same opinion, men caring less than women for visits and materials and correspondingly more for meetings. Particularly in the busy season, the men prefer not to be interrupted in their work, whereas women are much less likely to be averse to visits and as a matter of fact often desire them to break the routine of household work.

Negro leaders are essentially of the same opinion as white leaders in their relative preference for meetings first of all, visits second, and materials last. They were even more decided than whites in their preferences. In the first place, less than two per cent expressed no choice in the matter. The percentage who expressed a desire for meetings was much higher than that for white leaders; the proportion who preferred visits was approximately the same in both races. The preference for materials was exceedingly low among Negroes.

The explanations are rather clear cut. Negroes in the South are more socially disposed in their behavior within their own group than

are whites in theirs. Meetings, whether secular or religious, and social occasions are more an integral part of the folk behavior. The Negro leaders follow the same pattern and have transferred it in the affirmative attitude towards group meetings. It became quite evident in the course of the study that Negroes were less sure of themselves than were their white neighbors. Group meetings fell into the pattern of thinking that a called meeting was a place where they could not only obtain information from the agent but also could reinforce their own ideas and obtain answers to their questions from their neighbors.

There does not seem to be any racial distinction in regard to visits. When it comes to materials, the better education of the white leaders, already commented upon, becomes a factor in the decidedly lesser preference of Negroes than whites for these materials. The materials thus far have been largely in the form of printed or mimeographed letters, leaflets, and bulletins. The various agencies which deal with farmers are making a vigorous effort at the present time to present their materials in a more palatable form. In time, the attitude towards the printed word will change with more adequate education and the more intriguing approach presented in the newer materials. But the psycho-social contact of printed materials is a one-way contact in contrast with the two-way contacts of the personal visit or the manifold social relationships involved in group meetings.

The preference of the leaders of both races for meetings comes as a surprise to many who have come in regular contact with individual leaders. However, this method has definite advantages from the standpoint of the functioning of the neighborhood leadership system. It is a timesaver for the heavily burdened farm and home agents. They can meet with all the leaders of one or more neighborhoods in a fraction of the total time that it would take to visit each of them separately. Several meetings of a give and take nature can accomplish more in the same length of time than could be obtained by personal calls on each and every leader. The meetings may by no means be considered as a complete substitution for individual contact which will continue to have an important place in the scheme of things, quite apart from the fact that in these personal visits are often combined other items of individual importance which could not be discussed at a general meeting. As time goes on, each of the three methods will assume its proper place in terms of county-neighborhood leadership contacts, and they will supplement one another. None of them of course is new, but the neighborhood meetings and the materials sent out need a great deal of time, thought, and revision

of procedure. They are already getting that and their development is proceeding along with neighborhood leadership organization in other lines. The discussion of the neighborhood leadership system must not blind us to the fact that the development of neighborhood leadership proceeds along with other movements. Furthermore, it is not an end in itself. It fundamentally is a means to other ends of importance to rural people and consequently to the society of which they form a part.

VISITS TO LEADERS' HOMES OR FARMS

Another source of contact between the agents and the leaders is the visits to the homes or farms of these men and women. The figures for the entire area are comparable for the white leaders only since Negro agents were not located in those counties where the proportion of Negroes is relatively small. Eighteen per cent of the leaders had been visited by the farm agents relative to the programs; a like proportion were visited by the home agents. These visits were not casual visits; they were made in connection with proposed programs. Of the white leaders visited by the county agents 39 per cent were contacted two or more times.

The data were compiled for those counties which had Negro agents.² Forty-four per cent of the Negro leaders were visited by Negro farm agents. Thirty-two per cent were visited by home agents. Thus the proportion of home visits on the part of the Negro agents was greater than that of the white agents. There are definite reasons why this would be so. The white agents have more numerous and more varied tasks allotted to them than do the Negro agents. In addition, the number of families that a white county agent has in a particular county is ordinarily much greater than that of the Negro agent, even though an assistant agent can take part of this load. Sparsely settled Negro families often need more individual attention than would be the case where there are larger groups. Finally, Negro farmers are less able to travel to the county agent's office, and hence the agent must make a special effort to go to their homes.

The visits by the various agricultural and home agents must be taken into consideration along with the visits of the leaders to the agents' offices and the group meetings to obtain a clear picture of specific contacts between the leaders and agents in each county. Added to this are the casual contacts which take place on the county

² Three of the six counties had a full-time Negro farm agent.

An additional county divided the services of an agent with an adjacent county. Two of the counties had full-time Negro home agents. The two counties not having Negro farm agents were the most western counties, both having a small Negro population.

roads or in the towns or in meetings and gatherings not dealing specifically with programs with which the neighborhood leadership set-up happens to be functioning at a particular time.

Obviously, these contacts are all-important in further developing a network of interrelationships between the county leaders and the neighborhood leaders. Considering the time limit, the number of contacts reported represents a good beginning. However, there is still a large proportion of leaders who are relatively little contacted as yet. This is due to numerous factors. All are quite understandable but they are factors which must be dealt with in a vigorous fashion if the neighborhood leadership system is to attain the complete development to which its proved and potential importance entitles it. Agents are overwhelmed by details and cannot give time to contacts commensurate with the need for these contacts. There is the normal tendency to deal with the more prominent leaders and to visit the more accessible places. Neighborhood and community meetings are a partial answer to the former of these points. More personnel is an obvious and important answer. To the immediate problem, there is added the consideration of budgeting the agent's work so that a definite amount of time may be allocated to the development of the system from its promising beginning to its more adequate development. Already among the women a particular beginning has been made in making it possible for the assistant home demonstration agents to spend less time on certain specific tasks. Their places are taken on these occasions by volunteer leaders who have been chosen for their capacity in these specific tasks. The time and effort thus saved can be turned into good account in the strengthening of the neighborhood leadership system of activities.



CHAPTER 16

An Evaluation

The neighborhood leadership development began prior to the second World War but received its impetus in the needs arising from the war. It has proved its worth to the nation and more specifically to

the local communities,¹ so that its retention and further utilization are definitely warranted.

A system of voluntary leadership, such as the present one, depends for its success upon a great number of factors. The leaders must not be expected to fulfill too many tasks, since they are unpaid and their daily pursuits must necessarily take most of their effort. At the same time as the leadership program becomes more integrated into the rural way of life, the neighborhood leaders should participate more and more in the counselling concerning the programs and the planning of projects pertaining to their communities. No one knows more about his own community than do these leaders. Consequently programs designed to benefit rural people can be made more down-to-earth by means of careful counsel with the leaders in the communities involved. On the whole, these leaders are representative of the best thinkers in rural life. In the setup thus far, the country farm and home agents have formed a major connecting link between leaders and program makers outside the county. This has worked well largely because of the high caliber and devotion to their work of these agents, coupled with their strategic positions as full-time, professional leaders to whom rural folk look for a multitude of things rural in which the agents are involved in their work as heads of farm and home services in their particular segments of the state.

A system of voluntary leadership, designed to further the interest of rural neighborhoods and communities, needs a focal point. This can continue to be supplied by the farm and home agents. At present, these men and women have entirely too much to do and need additional assistants for the current work. The continued development of the volunteer leadership system will enhance the usefulness of professional leadership and call for its expansion. At the same time such development will result in the further growth and use of the neighborhood leaders and consequently of their ability to contribute to the welfare of their own neighbors and to help work out problems of neighborhood and community.

In analysing the situation and in planning a more complete development of leadership, one approach to the problem is from the standpoint of the farm and home agents who "center up" the leadership in a specific county. The more experienced of these agents have been accustomed to dealing primarily with the leading men and women in their counties. Now a somewhat different situation is developing and the farm and home agents have been going through a

¹ For achievements in another section of the United States, see Anderson, A. H., *The Rural Neighborhood Has Gone To War*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, n.d.

process of reorientating their thinking in the sense that their relationships with the chosen leaders involve the further relationships of these leaders with the families in their specific neighborhoods. In this respect leaders should be convinced in their own minds that any program to be utilized will be one worth while in their neighborhoods and, consequently, of interest to them. County agents thus have an opportunity and a responsibility for relatively complete explanations of the overall needs and specific purposes of proposed programs. The leaders need a definite amount of stimulation. The whole plan of working with and through these leaders needs careful attention to the details of operations, and yet over-organization of volunteer leadership from outside or superimposed sources in a peace-time existence needs to be avoided.

It is not enough for the agents and the leaders to agree as to what is to be done. One of the outstanding problems that still needs to be overcome is the inadequate techniques of the leaders in conveying information and stimulation to the families in their groups. The will to do needs to be accompanied by the knowledge of how to accomplish what shall be done. This takes time and effort and skillful stimulation and teaching on the part of the agents. This in turn involves further development of agents with a greater orientation in terms of people rather than of projects.

SPECIFIC CONSIDERATIONS

In looking toward the further development of the leadership system, various specific methods for strengthening the program should have consideration. In the first place there is obvious need for more publicity concerning the neighborhood leadership system. Not only does the general public need to be better informed as to what it is, what is being done, and what can be done but also many of the county extension agents, the leaders themselves, and the members of their groups have a limited comprehension of the potentialities and full-scale operation of the system. Only when there is full understanding can there be adequate neighborhood and community cooperation.

The leadership system has been in operation for what may be considered a trial period.² As it matures, it has become evident that counties should be restudied in terms of the location of neighborhoods and communities with especial attention to increasing the number of leaders where necessary and to seeing that they are as con-

² For a detailed evaluation see, "Neighborhood Leader Organization, Suggested Use and Operations in North Carolina," County Agricultural Extension Workers District Conferences, August 25 to September 18, 1942, North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service.

veniently located as possible in relation to the families in their groups. All of this should be pointed toward a smaller average number of families for which each leader would be responsible and in general to having those families so located that they are within a short distance so far as possible because of the time element and the question of transportation. This is particularly significant in the maintenance of regular contacts throughout the lifetime of any given project as a real leader must remain in more or less constant touch with his group.

The matter of the selection of leaders also requires more intensive study. To put the program into operation with as little delay as possible required relatively rapid selection of the first group of leaders, some of whom were appointed rather than elected according to democratic processes. In the interests of efficiency, it must be admitted that this has worked rather well; yet to have any sizable number of the leaders appointed is contrary to the philosophy of a leadership emanating from the people themselves.

As new leaders are elected to replace those who drop out or are found to be unable to meet the needs of their groups, and as the number is expanded, great care should be taken to elect the leaders and to select persons with the characteristics which have been found to be most effective in the development of the program. Especial attention should be given to demonstrated ability on the part of the leaders to cooperate fully and wholeheartedly in the objectives and functioning of the system. There also must be both the willingness and the energy to put more into the program than some leaders have been able to contribute. Since the strength and accomplishments of the organization are so dependent upon the caliber of the leadership, this point can hardly be over-stressed.

There has been recognition from the very beginning of the advisability of using Negro leaders for Negro families wherever possible. There has been less widespread recognition of the direct value in having a man and woman serve the same group. Some projects, such as the collection of scrap iron, were definitely in the man's sphere of farm activities but others, such as the enrichment of flour, were more closely associated with women's work while still others, such as the sale of war bonds, had no special sex connotation. Through using a man and a woman as leaders for the same group of families, more effective results for a wide range of activities can be obtained.

The leaders are directly dependent in a very real sense upon the help given them by the farm and home agents who in turn must have not only a realization of the problems of specific neighborhoods and

communities but also of the county as a whole. There is need for better organization so that plans, programs, materials, and techniques will be made fully available to these agents who in turn are generally responsible for their dissemination to the leaders. Various devices will facilitate this. Most leaders would welcome more visits by the farm and home agents at which time the programs being planned or already under way could be discussed in detail. Most leaders feel the need for more explanation of the programs and for definite help as to techniques of presentation and devices for obtaining the most effective participation from their families and finally of interpreting the results to them. There has been considerable demand for regular meetings at a fixed time and place where programs can be fully discussed with the leaders and any needed information given. Such meetings must be geared to the cycle of farm work, however, with concentration during the less busy times of the year. While such meetings are primarily planned for the leaders, it has been found helpful on occasion to have agents, leaders, and families in the leaders' groups meet together to develop specific projects in their communities and also for leaders to meet alone with their families.³ Above all, the leaders have emphasized the necessity of definite and specific information for developing plans, recognizing the fact that they must have more information than is necessary for the families in their groups. It is not enough, moreover, to prepare plans for the initiation of a program. There must be constant and constructive follow-up to help the leader until he and his group attain their goals.

Thus implicit in the active plan of the neighborhood leadership system is a constant yet not too great flow to the leaders and their families of pertinent informational and other materials. These materials must be simple and easy to follow. At the preceding analysis has shown the average amount of formal education on the part of the heads of households is at present relatively limited. Unless materials are simply and attractively presented, they will not be utilized by the majority of the families. In the past, there has not always been an adequate supply of suitable materials nor have they always been promptly available. Both leaders and families must receive needed information on time if it is to be used effectively. These latter suggestions appear self-evident and yet they are made as a result of inadequacies in the program reported from some of the counties.

Again, the persons responsible for new projects, ordinarily the farm and home agents, must have a well-developed appreciation of

³ Also see Poundstone, Bruce and Beers, Howard W., *Neighborhood and Community Basis of Rural Organization*, Kentucky Agricultural Extension Service, March 1942.

what can be successfully undertaken at any given time. Practically any project is affected by its timing. A victory garden project must be started earlier in some counties than in others. In all counties it must be developed far enough in advance of actual planting to insure careful planning and preparation. While the leaders can give the general information on all of this, the county agents must always be available for technical information.

Again, it is more effective to have fewer projects well-executed rather than more projects of lesser accomplishment. Both leaders and the families in their groups become confused if too many ideas and demands are presented at approximately the same time. They get more satisfaction and better total results from a few projects well done than from a number of projects poorly done. Some groups can handle more projects during the year than others which is an indication of the need for flexibility in the whole program and for gearing it to the development of each neighborhood. This in turn calls for more skilled leadership than would be required for a stereotyped plan without regard to variations in neighborhoods⁴

THE FUTURE

The neighborhood leadership system has been in operation long enough and widely enough to demonstrate clearly its value. Through it farm families are being reached who never before had felt the effects of the agricultural extension program. Quite literally it provides for the first time a means of reaching the last family in the most inaccessible section of any county. Families which do not respond to the usual type of educational program can be reached swiftly and effectively through the neighborhood leadership system because it is directly related to the everyday interests and activities of the people involved. Programs are couched in language they can understand and are presented by their neighbors in whom they have confidence. They can see the utility of the activities suggested.

The war effort gave impetus to the programs and conditioned families to accept their responsibilities for participation. If successful programs could be developed, the same techniques can be used for programs that will enhance and enrich rural life in the postwar world.

These conclusions, while based primarily upon experiences in North Carolina, are applicable in essence to other parts of the country. Under the impetus primarily of national needs, the germ of a lasting

⁴ For illustrative material, see *Orange and Lee Counties, North Carolina, Demonstrate How Neighborhood Leaders Can Help in Securing Participation of Rural Families in Agriculture's Wartime Programs*, United States Department of Agriculture, Extension Service Circular 387, June 1942.

neighborhood leadership system is to be found throughout the nation. That it need not be a temporary device is borne out by the achievements in North Carolina and elsewhere.

A leadership system adapted to conditions in each particular state, and varied even within states according to local conditions, can do much toward the further development of an integrated rural life. Not only can the efforts of those who see the need in rural areas be furthered. There is more to it than this. In well integrated, socially conscious, community organized areas, with competent functioning leadership emanating from every neighborhood, ideas and projects can find root and take shape. It has been stated before that no one knows better the needs of a neighborhood or community than do the people living there; or if we take cognizance of the fact of differentials in the population, there are the leaders in these communities who can be encouraged and trained to ascertain their own needs and to aid in the developing of ways and means of meeting those needs.

As a practical matter, needs probably can be best made known from specific communities outward to the county and state levels. The tendency towards centralization of government is based upon the increase of functions delegated to government. Where centralization is in danger of being carried too far, however, the counter emphasis is a strong neighborhood, community, and state feeling for those socially necessary procedures with which local areas need to be concerned. Even those projects which are national in scope are local in their specific application and must be attuned to local folkways and organization for adequate functioning and consequent success. Neighborhood organization, local consciousness and leadership, will go far in that direction. Thus the neighborhood leadership system, with all that it implies, is actually a return to the principles of self-government and local administration while at the same time recognizing the necessity of centralized procedures in many of the Nation's affairs.

In an era of tremendous complexity, such a return is welcomed and is consistent with a planned economy which at its best takes into adequate consideration the needs, the wants, and the fundamental differentiating patterns of the hundreds of thousands of localities which form the warp and woof of rural America.

Schedule

Study of Neighborhood Leadership In North Carolina

A. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LEADER

| | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Schedule No..... | Date..... | Enumerator | County..... |
| Community | | Neighborhood | |
| 1. Name | 2. Address | | |
| 3. Place of residence: Town..... Village..... | | Open country nonfarm.... Farm.... | |
| 4. Place of birth: (a) Country or state..... | | County..... | |
| (b) City..... Town..... Village..... | | Open country nonfarm.... Farm.... | |
| 5. Race..... | 6. Sex..... | 7. Age..... | 8. Marital status..... |
| 9. No. of living children..... | | 10. Last grade completed (circle): | |
| 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 1c, 2c, 3c, 4c, more than 4c | | | |
| 11. Occupation of leader or of husband of leader: Primary | | | |
| Secondary | | | |
| 12. (a) Is husband (or wife) a neighborhood leader?..... | | (b) Name..... | |
| 13. Farm operations: | | 14. Present home | |
| Total acres operated..... | Owned () | Rented () | |
| Acres owned | Painted () | Brick () | |
| Total acres of cropland..... | Automobile | | |
| Type of farm..... | Truck | | |
| Tenants | Telephone | | |
| Croppers | Radio | | |
| Wage hands | Phonograph | | |
| Most important enterprise..... | Piano | | |
| ..... | Electricity | | |
| ..... | Mechanical refrigerator | | |
| ..... | Ice box | | |
| ..... | Pressure cooker | | |
| Second most important | Water supply in home: | | |
| enterprise | Hand pump | | |
| ..... | Piped | | |
| Livestock owned: | Bathroom fixtures: | | |
| Horses | Tub | | |
| Mules | Lavatory | | |
| Milk cows | Toilet | | |
| Hogs | Screens | | |
| Chickens | Daily newspaper | | |
| ..... | Weekly newspaper | | |
| ..... | Farm papers (specify) | | |
| | | | |
| Tractors | Road (H)....(G)....(D).... | | |

15. Occupational history since 16 years of age:

| Year | Occupation | Business or Industry | Age work began | Reason for changing |
|------|------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1943 | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

16. Defense campaigns or programs in which participated (check) :

| Item | As chairman of a committee | | As member of a committee | | As an individual |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|------------------|
| | County | Local | County | Local | |
| a. Scrap iron collection | | | | | |
| b. Rubber collection | | | | | |
| c. Machinery repair | | | | | |
| d. Victory garden, 1942 | | | | | |
| e. Victory garden, 1943 | | | | | |
| f. Cost of living | | | | | |
| g. Soybeans and peanuts | | | | | |
| h. 4-H mobilization | | | | | |
| i. Civilian defense | | | | | |
| j. War bonds and stamps | | | | | |
| k. Relocation | | | | | |
| l. Red Cross | | | | | |
| m. Auto transportation pool | | | | | |
| n. Sugar rationing | | | | | |
| o. Milk cow survey | | | | | |
| p. Grease and fat collection | | | | | |
| q. Truck registration | | | | | |
| r. Share the meat | | | | | |
| s. Other (specify) | | | | | |

17. Affiliations:

| Organizations | Member (Check) | | Present offices, date attained | Av. no. meetings per month | Av. no. meetings attended per mo. | Approx. no. hrs. per mo. devoted to organization |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| | Now | In past 10 years | | | | |
| Church (specify) | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Other religious organizations | | | | | | |
| (specify) | | | | | | |
| Political party (specify) | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Cooperatives: | | | | | | |
| FCX | | | | | | |
| N. C. Coop. Cotton Growers | | | | | | |
| Assn. | | | | | | |
| Farmers Federation | | | | | | |
| Other (specify) | | | | | | |
| Farm organizations and | | | | | | |
| committees: | | | | | | |
| Grange | | | | | | |
| Farm Bureau | | | | | | |
| AAA Committee | | | | | | |
| FSA Committee | | | | | | |
| Home Demonstration Club | | | | | | |
| Other (specify) | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| PTA | | | | | | |
| Civic club (specify) | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Patriotic organization | | | | | | |
| (specify) | | | | | | |
| Fraternal organization | | | | | | |
| (specify) | | | | | | |
| Business and financial organi- | | | | | | |
| zations (specify) | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |

B. THE FUNCTIONS OF THE LEADER

18. Selection of leader: Date assumed position of neighborhood leader
- Appointed By whom
- Selected By whom
- Elected By whom
19. Relationship of leader to planning organization:
- Neighborhood chairman?.....No. of meetings of neighborhood leaders attended during the past three months.....
- No. of county-wide meetings for neighborhood leaders attended during the past three months.....
- Member of community committee?..... Office held
- No. of meetings attended during the past three months.....
- Member of county planning committee?..... Office held
- No. of meetings attended during the past three months.....
- No. of visits to office of county or home agent during the past three months in connection with programs.....
- No. of visits to leader's home or farm during the past three months regarding programs by:
- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. County agent | f. Home economics teacher |
| b. Assistant county agent..... | g. Soil conservationist |
| c. Home agent | h. FSA farm supervisor |
| d. Assistant home agent | i. FSA home supervisor |
| e. Vocational teacher | j. Other (specify) |
- No. of letters to leaders regarding programs received during the past three months:
- a. Circular addressed to leaders only..... b. General circular.....
- c. Personal.....
- Specify programs
- No. of leaflets or bulletins received during the past three months on programs participated in by leaders.....
- Specify programs
- No. of exhibits or posters received during the past three months on programs participated in by leaders.....
- Specify programs
- No. of radio talks on these programs heard during the past three months.....
- Specify programs
- Other sources of information (specify)

20. Programs presented by leaders to families with whom he or she has worked since Jan. 1, 1942.

| | Month and year | Response (good, fair, poor) |
|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Scrap iron collection | | |
| b. Rubber collection | | |
| c. Machinery repair | | |
| d. Victory garden, 1942 | | |
| e. Victory garden, 1943 | | |
| f. Cost of living | | |
| g. Soybeans and peanuts | | |
| h. 4-H mobilization | | |
| i. Civilian defense | | |
| j. War bonds and stamps | | |
| k. Relocation | | |
| l. Red Cross | | |
| m. Auto transportation pools | | |
| n. Sugar rationing | | |
| o. Milk cow survey | | |
| p. Grease and fat collection | | |
| q. Truck registration | | |
| r. Share the meat | | |
| s. Other (specify) | | |

21. Methods used by leader in contacting families: No. during the past 3 months

| | |
|---|-------|
| Personal visits to homes ..... | ..... |
| Casual personal contacts ..... | ..... |
| Group meetings ..... | ..... |
| Circular letters ..... | ..... |
| Leaflets or bulletins distributed ..... | ..... |
| Posters distributed ..... | ..... |
| Telephone calls ..... | ..... |
| Visits by members of group to leader regarding program ..... | ..... |
| Other (specify) ..... | ..... |
| Best method of obtaining cooperation ..... | ..... |
| Second best method of obtaining cooperation ..... | ..... |

C. FAMILIES

22a. Data for men:

| Name of male head of family | Age | Race (W.N.I.) | Marital status (S. M. Wid. Sep. D.) | Educa- tion* | Occupation** | Secon- dary occupa- tion | Size of farm (acres) | Farm Bureau | Grange |
|--------------------------------|-----|------------------|---|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--------|
| 1. | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. | | | | | | | | | |
| 11. | | | | | | | | | |
| 12. | | | | | | | | | |
| 13. | | | | | | | | | |
| 14. | | | | | | | | | |
| 15. | | | | | | | | | |
| 16. | | | | | | | | | |
| 17. | | | | | | | | | |
| 18. | | | | | | | | | |
| 19. | | | | | | | | | |
| 20. | | | | | | | | | |

* Education:

- a. None
- b. Some grade school
- c. Completed grade school
- d. Some high school
- e. Completed high school
- f. Some college
- g. Completed college
- h. Post-graduate work

** Occupation:

- Full-time: Owner (FO), tenant (FT),
sharecropper (FS)
farm laborer (FL)
- Part-time: Owner (PO), tenant (PT),
sharecropper (PS)
farm laborer (PL)
- Nonfarm

22b. Data for women:

| Name of female head of family | Age | Race (W.N.I.) | Marital status (S. M. Wid. Sep. D.) | Educa- tion* | Occupa- tion | Sec- ondary occupa- tion | Size of farm (acres) | Mem- ber H. D. Club |
|----------------------------------|-----|------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | | |
| 6. | | | | | | | | |
| 7. | | | | | | | | |
| 8. | | | | | | | | |
| 9. | | | | | | | | |
| 10. | | | | | | | | |
| 11. | | | | | | | | |
| 12. | | | | | | | | |
| 13. | | | | | | | | |
| 14. | | | | | | | | |
| 15. | | | | | | | | |
| 16. | | | | | | | | |
| 17. | | | | | | | | |
| 18. | | | | | | | | |
| 19. | | | | | | | | |
| 20. | | | | | | | | |

- * Education:
- a. None
 - b. Some grade school
 - c. Completed grade school
 - d. Some high school
 - e. Completed high school
 - f. Some college
 - g. Completed college
 - h. Post-graduate work

23. Level of living of families:

| Name of family | Home | | | | Automobile | Truck | Telephone | Electricity | Radio | Piped water supply in home | Road* |
|----------------|-------|--------|---------|-------|------------|-------|-----------|-------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|
| | Owned | Rented | Painted | Brick | | | | | | | |
| 1. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20. | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Hard-surfaced (H); graveled (G);
or dirt (D)

24. Relationship of families to leader:

Schedule No. Form III-9

| Name of family | Distance from leader's home | Duration of acquaintance | Contacts with leader during the past 3 months* | | | Programs presented by leader** | Programs participated in** |
|----------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | | | No. of personal visits | No. of casual contacts devoted to program | No. of group meetings attended | | |
| 1. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 2. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 3. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 4. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 5. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 6. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 7. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 8. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 9. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 10. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 11. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 12. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 13. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 14. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 15. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 16. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 17. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 18. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 19. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |
| 20. | | | | | | abcdefghijklmnopqrst | abcdefghijklmnopqrst |

*Contacts related to programs only.

**Code: a. Scrap iron collection

b. Rubber collection

c. Machinery repair

d. Victory garden, 1942

e. Victory garden, 1943

f. Cost of living

g. Soybeans and peanuts

h. 4-H mobilization

i. Civilian defense

j. War bonds and stamps

k. Relocation

l. Red Cross

m. Auto transportation pool

n. Sugar rationing

o. Milk cow survey

p. Grease and fat collection

q. Truck registration

r. Share the meat

s.

t.

D. OBSERVATIONS OF LEADER

25. What agent or agency do you look to most often for advice and assistance concerning these programs?
26. Have you any criticisms regarding the activities of neighborhood leaders? If so, what?
27. What criticisms do you have regarding the way in which past programs have been presented to you?
28. What would you say are the good points in the leadership system?
29. What are your suggestions for the improvement of anything connected with the leadership system?
30. Indicate in the order of your preference (1, 2, 3) the kind of assistance from the county farm and home agents that is most helpful to you as a neighborhood leader in developing and conducting programs in your neighborhood:

() Visits

() Meetings
for
leaders

() Materials

Comments:

Edited by Date



